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F.O. 371

1947

PALKESTINE

File No. 951

Mp. 10695 - 10887

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Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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Cypher/OTP

FILES

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3369 14th November, 1947 D. 3.00 p.m. 14th November, 1947 R. 8.27 p.m. 14th November, 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington. 200 Co Parlie 19895

ILEDIATE SECRET

Your telegram No. 3878.

Reference paragraph 4 of Jerusalem telegram to Colonial Office No. 2138. 1066 / 20/10

There is no (repeat no) sign here of possibility of Arab co-operation with United Nations body.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 185.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

888

RECORD 61888

INWARD TELEGRAM

Cypher (0.T.P. 1)O THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 12th November, 1947.
R. 12th " 14.55 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2138 Top Secret and Personal

Addressed to the S. of S. Repeated to UKDEL No. 1546 (S. of S. please pass).

Your telegrams Nos. 2783 and 2785.

In my view we should not resist the appointment of United Nations Commission to whom we could transfer responsibility for administration, since, in the interests of the people of Palestine, we are anxious to avoid the chaos and worse that would arise in a vacuum. Our acceptance of the Commission could be based on this ground alone, and need not (corrupt group) our approval or otherwise of the plan for Partition.

- appointed, they would arrive some months before the withdrawal of Palestine Government. I note that during this period this Government would be responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It would be necessary to prevent the Commission taking any action that would lead to a breach of the peace during this time, and such action would include any direct measures taken to implement Partition. Commission would thus be confined during this period to
- (a) Planning for transfer of power, i.e., all Government services, assets and liabilities to the Commission at the date of withdrawal
 - (b) formation of Security Force,
- uneasiness of the situation during the period of overlap, and the fullest importance of ensuring that personnel of the Commission are not already sold to either the Arabs or the Jews. I feel sure that amongst the supporters of Partition there must be still some who are regarded as non-partisan. It would be most dangerous to the peaceful implementation of any plan if men like Granados and Fabrigat (whom the Arabs know conducted themselves disgracefully when they were here) were sent as members. Surely this is the least we should be entitled to anticipate.

4. It is worth noting that among the Arabs here there is no sign at all of any possibility of co-operation with U.N.O. body, and it would be interesting to know whether there are any such signs in Lake Success.

I assume that our object is still to withdraw, if possible without getting into conflict with either Arabs or Jews. I must confess, however, that if U.N.O. gets a two thirds majority for Partition, it seems unlikely that we will be able to a void a clash in any circumstances. Should we accept the present proposals, we cannot avoid some Arab disorder, but I am informed that if a two thirds majority for Partition is not forthcoming, more particularly through action on our part such as abstention in voting or opposition to the plan, we must expect increased Jewish terrorism, especially if there is no increase in the immigration quota, when some Hagana action may be expected as well.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for retransmission to UKDEL New York).

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Minutes. Enter la Mr Beith describing the working of the Palestine surd-committees, also New York telegram No. 3238.

I think we can now leave it to Sir A. Cadogan to decide how to carry out the instructions sent to him about making clear our inability to accept the American proposals.

As regards paragraph 3 of his telegram the main question whether we withdraw into a small area quickly is being discussed by the Defence Committee. The subsidiary question in 3(ii) will be dealt with in a paper on the details of handing over authority which is being prepared by the Official Committee for the next meeting of the Defence Committee. The plan described has some advantages though it would involve us in Arab accusations that we were defending the Jewish areas. These would be intensified if we allowed immigration into the Jewish areas.

Apart from these specific questions which we shall be better able to answer shortly, we have perhaps reached a moment at which it is useful to review our general line on Palestine to see whether we ought now to begin taking a more constructive attitude. Any attempt to do so would be directed either towards bringing the two parties together in the hope that there would then be less need to enforce a settlement or of giving some indication of the kind of settlement we should consider just enough and easy enough to enforce to justify our taking part in its implementation.

On the first question of bringing the two sides together, there are two main possibilities One is the Nuri-Evatt idea of negotiations between Ian Soud and the Americans which seems to be making some progress. We have expressed guarded approval of this to H.M. Missions in Arab countries but decided not to intervene more actively. Another possibility is that King Abdullah may get together with the Jews with a view to partition between Transjordan and a Jewish state. This is dealt with on other papers just submitted. A third possibility is that some compromise acceptable to both sides might emerge from the New York This has so far seemed extremely discussions. improbable but Mr. Beeley has told us in a letter that a unitary state compromise is gaining ground among the Delegates according to the Vice Chairman of Sub-Committee No. 2. The Americans have made some effort to secure consideration of modifications of the majority plan boundaries so as to make that plan more acceptable to the Arabs but there is no sign that they have taken any steps to secure limitation of Jewish immigration which would be another essential factor in modifying the majority plan to secure Arab acceptance. have ourselves made some study of the possibility of compromise based on the majority plan without any fruitful result.

As regards the possibility of stating what sort of settlement we should be prepared to

participate/

participate in the first essential would presumably be to state our objections to partition with the idea that they would have to be overcome before we could participate. The main objections are

- (a) a Jewish State would be regarded by the Zionists as a jumping-off place for further expansion in the Middle East (we could add to the Americans and other selected delegations that it seemed likely to us that a Jewish State would also be a centre of Communist penetration)
- (b) however well the boundaries are drawn partition must leave considerable minorities in each State
- (c) whatever may be written on paper, it is unlikely that economic unity of the two States would be effective.

Owing to the way in which the frontiers would have to be drawn to leave a kind of chequer-board pattern, the absence of economic unity would produce complete chaos.

There would not be much opposition to stating these criticisms if we could leave it at that, but the probability is that having gone so far we should be driven to state what plan we thought would over-come these difficulties. We could reply with something on the lines of the Secretary of State's earlier proposals (cantonisation) but if we did so we should then be back in exactly the position we have tried to avoid of putting, a proposal of our own forward which was almost certain not to meet with approval on both sides. The whole proceedings would then resolve into criticism of our attitude.

Our representatives should clearly continue working behind the scenes in favour of compromise and realism but beyond this it does not seem that we should at present go even at the risk of seeming to take a mainly negative part. The best result would still be that the matter should be settled out of court by agreement between the two parties or failing this that the Assembly should make no definite recommendation whereupon we should withdraw giving the Arabs and Jews a last chance to agree and if they did not leaving a kind of de facto cantonisation in the process of our withdrawal.

7th November, 1947.

The contraction

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

6 Reference:

110/19

The Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine set up by the General Assembly under the chairmanship of Mr. Evatt, the Australian representative, decided on October 22nd to set up three Sub-Committees as follows: -

- (a) To work out a plan on the basis of the UNSCOP Majority Plan proposal (together with the unanimous recommendations). This is now known as Sub-Committee 1.
- (b) To work out a plan on the basis of the Arab proposal for a unitary State. This is now known as Sub-Committee 2.
- (c) To explore the possibility of arriving at a settlement by conciliation. This Sub-Committee was to consist of the chairman, vice-chairman and rapporteur, with such other delegates as they thought it useful to consult.

The United Kingdom Delegation, which abstained from voting throughout these proceedings, declined to undertake membership of either Sub-Committee 1 or 2, but offered to sit with both in order to make available our knowledge and experience. Mr. John Martin of the Colonial Office has sat with Sub-Committee 1, and Mr. Harold Beeley, of the Foreign Office, with Sub-Committee 2.

Very little has been heard of the third Sub-Committee with the terms of reference stated under (c). It was evidently designed by the chairman to be a more informal body than the others, and it is possible that the scheme for direct negotiations between the Americans and the Arabs represented by King Ibn Saud was the work of this Sub-Committee; but this is not clear from the reports we have received.

Sub-Committees 1 and 2 have been in regular session since October 23rd on which date they were constituted with the following membership: -

> Sub-Committee 1. Canada, Guatemala, South Africa, U.S.S.R., Venezuela, Czechoslovakia, Poland, United States, Uruguay.

Sub-Committee 2. The six Arab States, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Colombia.

The Colombian representative resigned from this Sub-Committee on October 28th, and was succeeded as chairman by the representative of Pakistan.

Sub-Committee 1 has inevitably been far the most publicised of the Sub-Committees, especially since it has been the scene of important statements of policy by both the Americans and the Russians. It began by adopting various proposals for procedure by the Guatemalan representative

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to the effect that the Majority Plan should be examined in detail in the light of arrangements for implementation of the plan and for the transitional period. On October 28th the Jewish Agency representative, Shertok, was invited to make proposals for boundary modifications which amounted to a claim for the whole of Western Galilee. He put forward further claims on October 29th. After further discussions on boundaries, the U.S. representative launched the proposal which his Government had been hatching for some days on October 31st. Briefly, the plan was that two independent States should be set up by July 1st, 1948, by the mandatory power with the help of a United Nations Commission headed by a RECEIVED IN O.B. High Commissioner. The United Kingdom representative commented on this statement on November 1st in a deprecatory statement which we feel did not emphasize sufficiently the determination 1-NOV 1947 of H.M.G. not to be responsible for implementing any settlement not agreed by Jews and Arabs.

On November 3rd, the Soviet Delegate made a statement in 17 WW 107 Sub-Committee 1, recommending that the British mandate be abrogated as from January 1st, 1948, and British troops withdrawn as soon as possible, but in any case not later than three to four months after the abrogation of the mandate. During the ensuing transitional period of not less than a year before the independence of the Jewish and Arab States, Palestine would be administered by the United Nations in the person of the Security Council through a Special Commission composed of the representatives of the Member States of the Security Council, the seat of this Commission being in Palestine.

Sub-Committee 2 has been mainly concerned with legal questions regarding the transfer of authority which, since this Sub-Committee is working on the basis of a unitary State, would be made to a mixed Arab-Jewish authority. Work has been divided up between three groups responsible: -

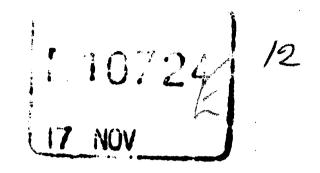
- (a) for considering the resolutions dealing with displaced persons,
- (b) legal issues,
- (c) the plan for a unitary Palestinian State.

[JOHN BEITH]

Foreign Office. 5th November, 1947.

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3368. D. 3.13 p.m. 14th November, 1947. 14th November, 1947. R. 8.32 p.m. 14th November, 1947.

Repeated to Bagdad, Cairo (please pass to B.M.E.O.), Jedda, Damascus, Beirut,
Jerusalem,
Washington (Saving).

IMPORTANT. GIANT. SECRET.

Your telegram No. 3855 (repeating your telegram No. 493 to Amman).

Reference paragraph 8 of your telegram we see no (repeat no) prospect of compromise on lines of unitary state emerging from present assembly. There are also no signs as yet that Americans are taking up suggestion reported in my telegram No. 3018.

Foreign Office please pass to Bagdad, Cairo, Jeada, Damascus, Beirut and Jerusalem as my telegrams Nos. 6, 98, 6, 8, 5 and 184 respectively.

[Repeated to Bagdad, Cairo, Jedda, Damascus and Beirut and copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]. 33**3**

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Cypher/OTP

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FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

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335

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PALESTINE

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administration of Termalin Ripor this fork til 3283 (E10517/951/31) Who de russions of administration of termedium in resumed Likely extlained that before his could redraft the cinscop Proposale to must have a division as to the natural of the intersalistical reprint the recommended.

(Minutes.)

See E 10517 2 minute. this is one of the problems lve can side-step, 1 tank. the UNSCOP onggestion is the most reasonable and it has powerful advocates.

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(Action completed.)

(Print.)

Next Paper.

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Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

No. 3370.

D. Untimed. 14th November 1947.

14th November 1947. R. 6.23 a.m. 15th November 1947.

Repeated to: Jerusalem and

110/25 Washington Saving.

GIANT.

17 NOV

My telegram No. 3283.

When discussion of administration of Jerusalem was resumed yesterday Lisicky explained that before he could redraft the UNSCOP proposals he must have a decision as to the nature of the international regime to be recommended. The delegates of the United States and Canada spoke convincingly in favour of the UNSCOP proposals and the delegate of South Africa associated himself with their view. In the course of his address the Canadian delegate stated that during his stay in Jerusalem he had heard only high praise of the manner in which the mandatory power had undertaken its duties in religious matters. Shertok repeated the Jewish Agency's claim for the Jewish enclave and received support from Prusczynski. This debate will probably continue today. When discussion of administration of

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No.186.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office, for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

D. Untimed November 14th, 1947 No. 3371 14th November, 1947 R. 6.24 a.m. November 15th, 1947

Repeated Jerusalem, __ Washington,) Saving, GIANT

My telegram No. 3336.

Discussion of boundaries in Palestine Sub-committee one continued on the 12th and 13th Nevember.

- 2. Representatives of Poland, United States and Czecheslevakia speke in favour of Jaffa being enclave of the Arab State and it was agreed to recommend accordingly, the exact limits to be defined by a boundary commission which would be under general instructions to follow as far as possible the existing town planning boundary except where this impinged upon areas of Jewish development in the south. No member of the sub-committee suggested that the tewn should be linked territorially with the Arab State.
- 3. In compensation for Western Galilee the Jewish Agency effered
 - (A) Beersheba town and the area to the north east of the town, and
 - (B) an area along the Egyptian frontier from Rafah to El Auja.

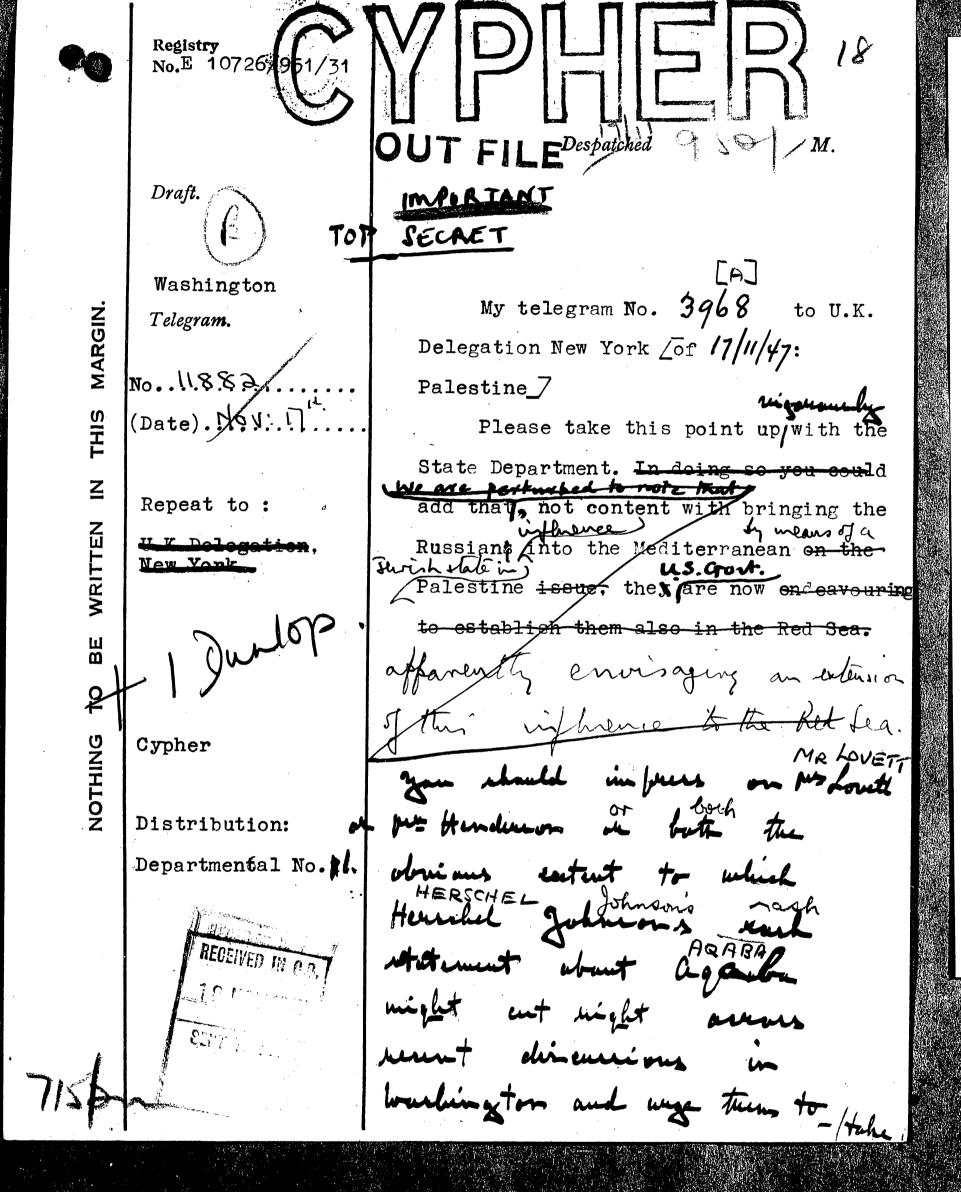
United States delegate at first stated that his Government could not approve the inclusion in the Jewish State of any part of U.N.S.C.O.P's western Galilee since this was the only area which offered any considerable scope for Arab development. He did not agree that land in southern Palestine would compensate the Arabs in any degree for loss in Galilee. He suggested there might however be a case for a slight adjustment of the U.N.S.C.O.P. line in the east in order to give the Jews some mountainous country for settlement but that, in examining the merits of any new line, consideration should be given to inclusion of Sefad in the Arab State. He considered that any substantial reduction of Arab State in Western Galilee would seriously jeopardise the chance of a two-thirds majority for partition. Various alternative lines were then discussed, the Soviet delegate supporting that most favourable to the Jews. Finally, Herschel Johnson said that he had been convinced by arguments that Safad should remain in the Jewish State and agreed to a compremise proposed by the Jewish agency by which the U.N.S.C.O.P. line would be adjusted so as to include in the Jewish State the whole of the villages of El Malikiya, Qaddita, Meirun, Es Sammui, Farradiya and Kafr Inan and half the village lands of Salika.

4. United States representative indicated that his delegation considered some adjustments in the Negeb to be necessary and that these should at least provide for inclusion of Beersheba town in the Arab State. In his opinion however the Jewish State should have the port of Agaba and access to it. No final proposals have yet been put forward by the United States delegation in regard to the Negeb, discussion of which is likely to continue today.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram

No. 187. [Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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take effective action to ensure that proposed

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DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON.

No. 11882.

D. 9.50 p.m. 17th November, 1947.

17th November, 1947.

IMPORTANT.
TOP SECRET.

My telegram No. 3968 to United Kingdom Delegation New York [of 17th November: Palestine].

Please take this point up informally with the State Department. You should impress on Mr. Lovett or Mr. Henderson or both the obvious extent to which Herschel Johnson's rash statement about Aqaba might cut right across recent discussions in Washington and urge them to take effective action to ensure that proposal is withdrawn or at the very least goes no further.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:- 371 61888

E 10726/951/31 Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON.

No. 11882.

D. 9.50 p.m. 17th November, 1947.

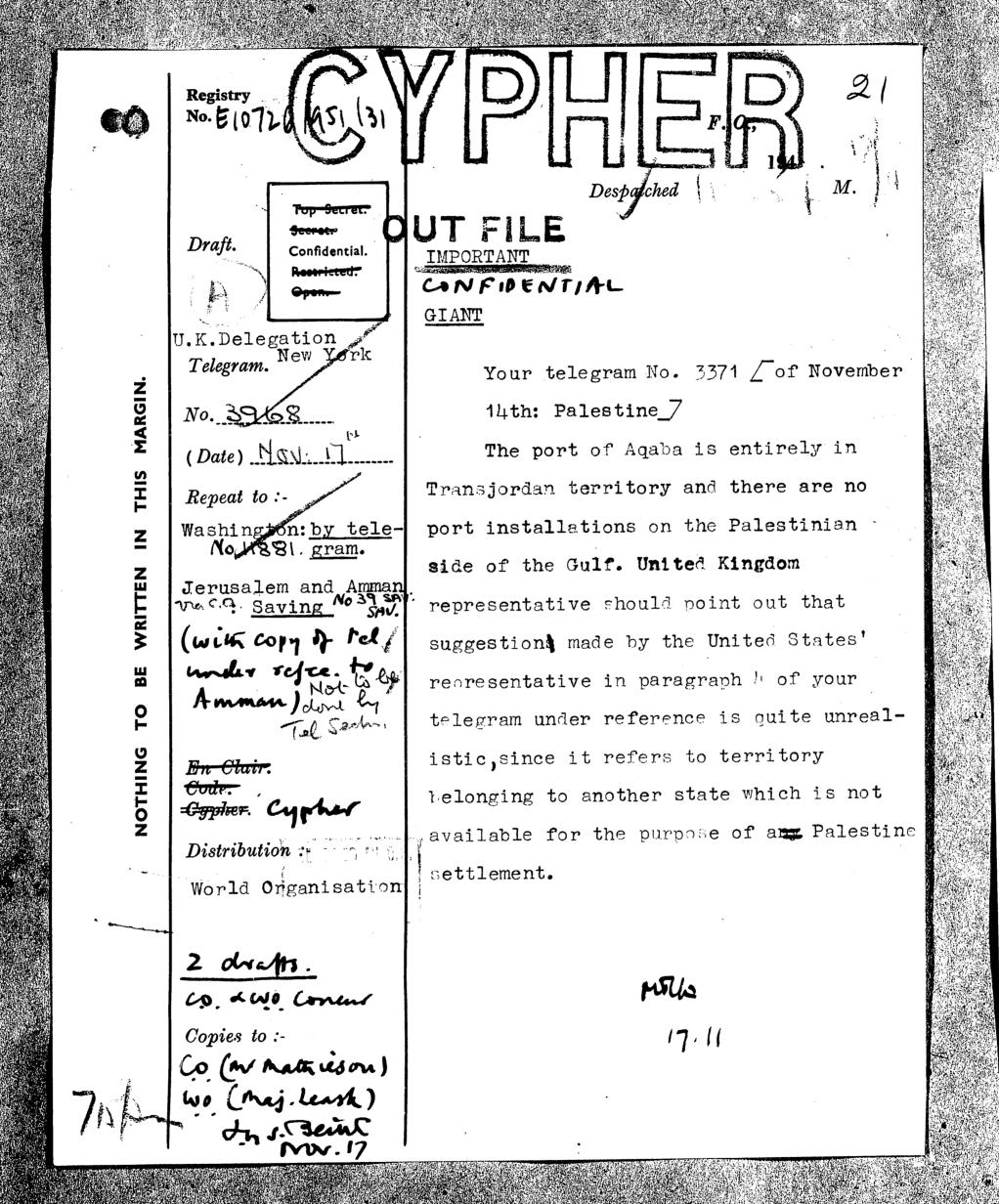
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H10726/951/31

Confidential.

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK.

(To United linguos Delegation to United Nations)

Ne. 3968

17th November 1947. D. 11.35 p.a. 17th November 1947 Repeated to Washington No. 11881.

Jerusalem Saving Amman No. 59 Saving.

IMPORTANT.
CONFIDENTIAL.
GIANT.

Your telegram No. 3571 [of November 14th: Palestine].

territory and there are no port installations on the Palestinian side of the Gulf. United Kingdom representative should point out that suggestion made by the United States' representative in paragraph 4 of your telegram under reference is quite unrealistic, since it refers to territory belonging to another state which is not available for the purpose of Palestine settlement.

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Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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Next Paper.

10/27

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7 NOV WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO JERUSALEM.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 188 15th November 1947 D. 8.7 p.m. 15th November 1947 R. 1.30 a.m. 16th November 1947

Repeated to Foreign Office No. 3594
Washington Saving.

IMMEDIATE.

Today's Herald Tribune carries despatch from Jerusalem November 14th (Fitzhugh Turner) headlined "British plan to take assets of Palestine". According to this message our intentions are

- (a) to charge Palestine possibly the whole country but more probably the Jewish State alone a sum of about 14,000,000 dellers to repay British for the cost of handling unauthorised Jewish immigration and of keeping illegal immigrants in the camps of Cyprus;
- (b) to charge for the cost as yet unknown of evacuating the British administration and for those civil servants who may lose their jobs, Arab, Jewish and British;
- (c) pessibly to charge the Jewish State for property damage inflicted by terrorists. Property owners, principally Jews who have suffered losses from terrorist action, already have registered claims but it has not been decided whether they shall be paid while the British remain or whether the matter will be left to a succeeding Government;
- (d) to insure that enough money will be on hand for these purposes and to leave at least some initial operating funds for Jewish, Arab or other authorities who will succeed them. The British also are planning immediate sale to private buyers of valuable state land on the waterfront at Haifa within the proposed Jewish State.

Fereign Office please pass Immediate te Jerusalem.

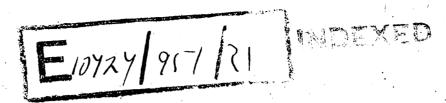
[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

75872/154/22 Cypher (0.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)
FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 17th Nevember, 1947. 20.15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE No. 2866 Secret.

Addressed to High Commissioner Palestine. Repeated to UKDEL New York.

My telegram No. 2855 repeating New York telegram to Foreign Office No. 3396. Lendon comment on Herald Tribune story about Palestine assets. Foreign Office spokesman denied that there was any question of expropriating Palestine Government assets for benefit of His Majesty's Government in U.K. He said that when all commitments had been met there would more probably be a deficit to be made good by British Government. Pensions for servants of Palestine Government were a proper charge on that Government. Similarly cost of Cyprus camps was a charge on Palestine Government but cost of naval and military action to frustrate illegal immigration remained a charge on the British taxpayer.

- 2. Colonial Office spokesman commented that there were many claims already outstanding against budgetary surplus of £6,250,000 e.g. food subsidies and cost of living allowances. He confirmed that proportion of boarer bond proceeds had been invested in British Government stock as gilt-edged security for bond-holders. He made no repeat no comment on suggestion that state domain at Haifa was to be sold to private buyers.
- 3. It is noted from Reuter that similar comment has now been issued in Jerusalem. Meanwhile New York may find comment in paragraphs 1 and 2 above useful in meeting enquiries.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for transmission to New York)

Copies sent to: -

Foreign Office (News Dept.) - Mr. Fellowes. - Mr. J.G.S. Beith.

(Action completed.)

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Next Paper.

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Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3395.

8 28. p.m. 15th November 1947.

15th November 1947

R. 2 30. a.m. 16th November 1947.

17 NOV

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington, Saving.

IMMEDIATE

GIANT

Following for Colonial Office.

The last subject under discussion at last might's meeting of sub-committee One concerned financial obligations for which provision is made in paragraph 3 of Chapter 3 of the declaration in Chapter VI of the U.N.S.C.O.P. report. The Guatamalan delegate proposed an amendment to that paragraph; the meeting was them adjourned and discussion postponed until this morning.

- Tribune) carry an account of the Palestine Government's intention to sell off the Haifa harbour estate, to invest in the United Kingdom the bearer bonds' balance and to devote the proceeds to expenses connected with illegal immigration and withdrawal. (See my telegram No. 188 to Jerusalem).
- J. During the resumed discussion in Sub-Committee One this morning Shertok, with reference to that part of the paragraph on financial obligations which relates to concessions, proposed the addition of the following clause:-

"During the period between the appointment of the United Nations Commission and the termination of the mandate the mandatory shall negotiate with the Commission on any concession which it may intend to grant or any measure it may contemplate involving the liquidation and

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disposal of the assets of the Palestine Government including the accumulated Treasury surplus, the proceeds of bond issues, state lands, etc."

He added that the Jewish Agency felt that the Palestine Government should regard itself morally bound to comply with such a requirement as from the date on which the mandatory had first announced its determination to withdraw from Palestine and that the agency would welcome any immediate action which might be taken by the United Nations to bring pressure to bear on the Palestine Government to refrain from exercising its present unfettered discretion in this matter.

- 4. Weizmann spoke today to Martin on this matter and expressed grave concern in regard to the Palestine Government's reported intentions; he pointed out the public effect in America and elsewhere of such reports, which the press would no doubt represent as the pillaging by Great Britain of the rightful assets of the future Arab and Jewish States.
- 5. It is unnecessary to emphasise unfortunate effect on delegations here of any appearance of removal of assets from Palestine to the United Kingdom for our own benefit and it appears desirable that a very early official statement should be made both at Lake Success and in London clarifying the position and the intentions of the Palestine Government.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 189.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

AMENDED COPY (correction * miderlined)

10728 911 11

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 17th November, 1947.

R. 17th

13.10 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2175

Addressed to the S. of S. Repeated to Washington, No. 262. " UKDEL New York, No. 1582, (S. of S. please pass).

Your telegram No. 2856 repeating New York telegram to Foreign Office No. 3395.

Financial obligations.

Following is text of statement which will be published in Palestine today as official Communique. Begins: +

Recent reports in press have commented on the alloged intention of the Palestina Government with regard to disposal of its assets. To remove any possible doubt it is considered desirable to publish following etatement :-

"There can = be no question transferring the assets of Palestine Government to His Majesty s Government in the U.K. for their benefit. It may be expected that these assets would be transferred whatever authority assume the Palestine Government liabilities.

- With regard to the Haifs Merbour Estate. the Palestine Government has decided to realise this ascet for the purpose of relieving the budgetary situation, and present market conditions appear to justify this action.
- The decision to invest in U.K. the belance of bearer bond issues is designed primarily to secure the interests of bond holders, and is in accordance with provisions of Ordinances under which these bonds were lesued". Ends.

m Correction received 18th November.

(dopies sect to Poreign Office for retransmission to UKDEL How York)

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

. Treasury

- Mr. Burrows

- Mr. Beith

- Wr. Garran

- Lt.Col. Russell-Admines - Mr. H.R. Apperley

15701

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

FROM MEN YOUR TO FOREIGH OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3397 15th Hovember, 1947

D. 8.50 p.m. 15th Movember 1947 R. 2.40 a.m. 16th Movember 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem and Daving to Vashington. 4

ILLEDIATE GLATI

17 NOV

Herald Tribune leader November 15th headlined "Britain's confusing stand". After stating that "the desire of Great Britain to get out from under its onerous responsibilities in Palestine....is one which deserves sympathetic understanding", it continues, "the British stand is open to criticism on two points. In the first place the duty of liquidating the Palestine mandate was implicit in Britain's original assumption of that mandate. A plan has been suggested by nations acting within the United Tations framework whereby the mandate may be ended quite speedily. It is difficult to see how the plan could entail any greater risks or costs for Britain than her own proposal to withdraw regardless of what settlement may be reached or what decision may be imposed by the United Nations. In the second place the British rejection of the Russo-American plan has been couched in terms which make it very difficult for the United Nations to take any alternative action. If the British stay until August 1st without "enforcing" partition — which is supposed to be completed by May 1st — who can possibly implement the United Nations programme? On the other hand if the British leave at some unnamed earlier date as they threaten to do could any security force be created in time to cope with the situation?"

It then suggests "perhaps the British would undertake the particular burdens involved in the partition plan, so far as Palestine itself is concerned, if they were guaranteed against the possibility that this would bring them alone into conflict with the Arab states on a broader field of hostility". The guarantee suggested "is to make it clear that Britain would be asked to assume police duties on behalf of the United Nations and that war against her growing out of the performance of these duties would be war against the United Nations". "If the British despite such a guarantee are still unwilling to implement the partition plan it would be necessary to explore their intentions further to discover whether it would be possible for the United Nations to conduct some sont of parallel administration in Palestine in preparation for Britain's withdrawal and the establishment of independent regimes in the Holy Land." It describes "the obscurities and escape clauses of the British statement" as being "in curious contrast to the usual clarity and forthrightness of British foreign policy".

888



DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

Cypher/OTP.

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

. Mr. Dundas.

D. 4.34 p.m. 14th November, 1947. R. 7.00 p.m. 14th November, 1947.

13th November, 1947.

Repeated to Bagdad,
Cairo,
Beirut,
Jedda,
Jerusalem,
New York (U.K.Delegation)

Amman,
B.M.E.O. Cairo,
Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean - Saving.

Azzam Pasha called on me today on his return to Damascus from Amman and Bagdad. He seemed to be anxious to make the following points.

2. States in Arab [grp.undec. ? territory] were putting aside their individual disagreements to combine over Palestine and as a result for the first time an actual union had resulted, a Union of their armed strength under an Arab higher Command. He had not visited Amman as reported in Press to try to persuade King Abdullah to modify his treaty with us, the treaty had not been discussed even. He had however promised the King the financial support of the Arab League if events led to withdral of His Majesty's Government's subsidy and support for Arab legislation. It had been also agreed that a token regular force would be stationed in Transjordan in accordance with decision of recent meeting of Arab League in Beirut. Ibn Saud had insisted on sending a similar token force which would be stationed in either Egypt, the Suez Canal, or Transjordan as promised by Arab higher Command.

convince the Jews that the Arab countries would, if necessary, fight for the possession of Palestine. If partition was decided upon by the United Nations and as a result (or if for any other reason) a Jewish State came into being the Arab armies would try to occupy the whole of Palestine in a few days. If they were prevented from doing this by His Majesty's Government or any other power imposing partition they would carry on guerilla warfare against the Jewish State. He himself felt, and Arab leaders to whom he had spoken earnestly hoped, partition would not receive the necessary majority; he strongly hinted we should use our influence to secure its rejection by the United Nations. In such an event he believed His Majesty's Government, as the friendly power, ought to make one final effort to [grp. undec. ? reach] agreement between Arabs and Jews for a unitary State on lines of the Morrison plan perhaps with minor modifications. He felt that such an attempt might succeed once the Jews were finally convinced that United

/Nations

Reference:-**EO** 371 / 6188

Nations would not implement partition; Arabs would accept [? grp.omtd] in order to avoid terrible chaos and bloodshed which would follow no agreed solution and consequent British withdrawal.

4. With regard to the future of Palestine his idea was that whether a Palestinian Government was set up by agreement in a unitary State or an Arab-Jewish interim Government was set up as a result of Arab occupation the people of Palestine, Arabs and Jews alike, should decide, by means of a plebiscite or of a Constituent Assembly the form of Government they should have; they should be free to choose between a Monarchy or Republic, independence or integration with [grps.undec.]. On such terms he believed moderate Jews would be willing to co-operate in destroying Zionist Terrorist Organisations which would be the only real threat to the stability of the country.

5. When speaking about the Arab Higher Command Azzam Pasha said that as result of its formation there was no longer the necessity for His Majesty's Government to sign any treaty of defence with Egypt or with any other Arab States, since the existing treaties between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of Iraq and Transjordan would now link us directly with the defence problems of all of the Arab States, who would in due course find that it was in their own interests to sign individual defence treaties with His Majesty's Government.

these matters with the Syrians and with Riadh Solh during the next few days and would then fly to Jedda; he hoped to see Ibn Saud on November 17th. He is meeting Faroz Khan Noon tomorrow.

7. *

one final effort to [gp. undec: ?reach] agreement between Arabs and Jews for a unitary State on lines of the Morrison plan perhaps with minor modifications. He felt that such an attempt might succeed once the Jews were finally convinced that United Nations would not implement partition; Arabs would accept [?gp. omtd.] in order to avoid terrible chaos and bloodshed which would follow no agreed solution and consequent British withdrawal.

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- 6. Azzam Pasha said he would be discussing these matters with the Syrians and with Riadh Solh during the next few days and would then fly to Jedda; he hoped to see Ihn Saud en Nevember 17th. He is meeting Fareez Khan Noon to-merrow.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:- C 371 61888

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E10731/95-1/31

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AMENDED COPY

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AMENDED DISTRIBUTION (17/11/47).

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Dundas.

No. 511.

13th November, 1947. R. 7.00 p.m. 14th November, 1947.

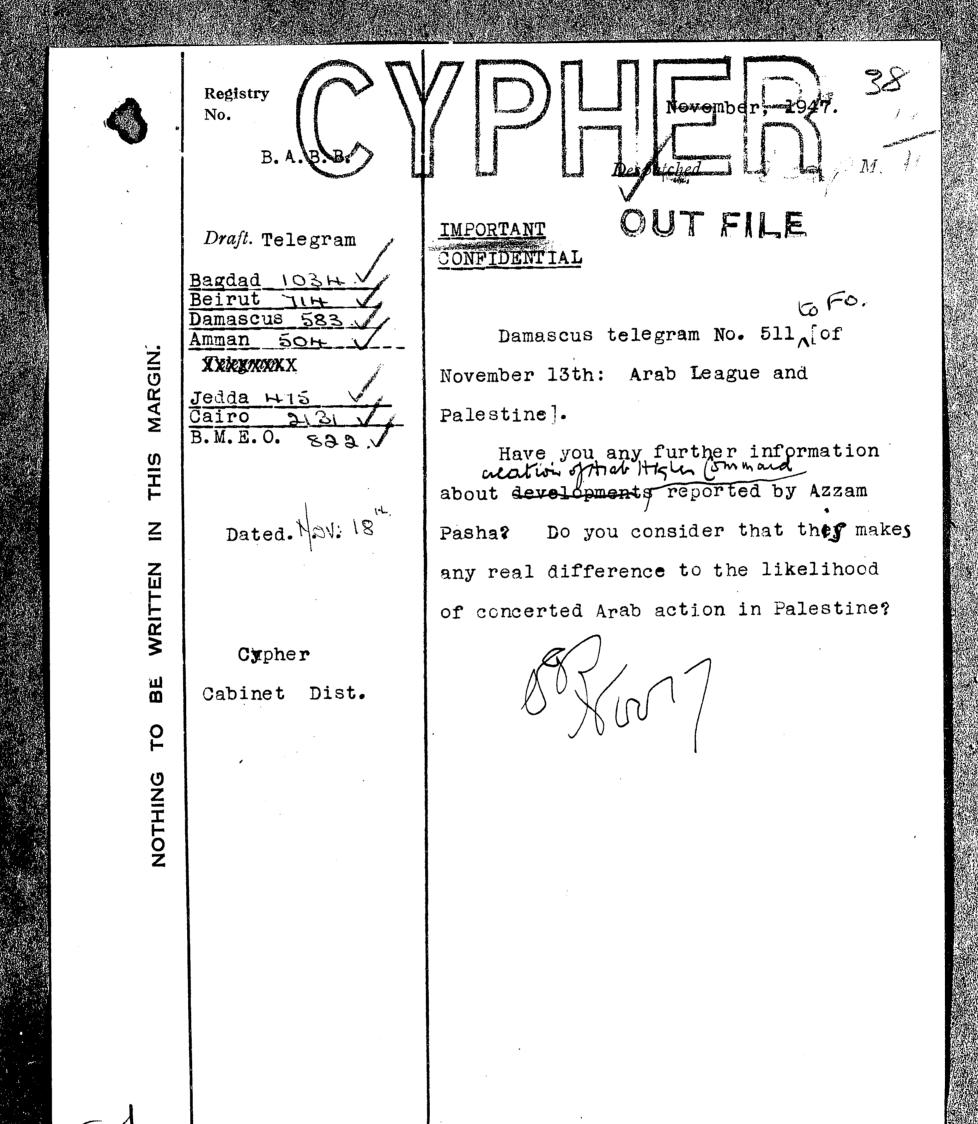
Repeated to Bagdad, Cairo, Beirut, Jedda, Jerusalem, New York (U.K. Del.), Amman, B.M.E.O. Cairo, Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean - Saving.

Azzam Pasha called on me to-day on his return to Damascus from Amman and Bagdad. He seemed to be anxious to make the following points.

- putting aside their individual disagreements to combine over Palestine and as a result for the first time an actual union had resulted, a Union of their armed strength under an Arab Higher Command. He had not visited Amman as reported in press to try to persuade King Abdullah to modify his treaty with us, the treaty had not been discussed even. He had however promised the King the financial support of the Arab League if events led to withdrawal of His Majesty's Government's subsidy and support for Arab legislation. It had been also agreed that a token regular force would be stationed in Transjerdan in accordance with decision of recent meeting of Arab *Legion* in Beirut. Ibn Saud had insisted on sending a similar token force which would be stationed in either Egypt, the Suez Canal, or Transjerdan as premised by Arab Higher Command.
- convince the Jews that the Arab countries would, if necessary, fight for the possession of Palestine. If partition was decided upon by the United Nations and as a result (or if for any other reason) a Jewish State came into being the Arab armies would try to occupy the whole of Palestine in a few days. If they were prevented from doing this by His Majesty's Government or any other power imposing partition they would carry on guerilla warfare against the Jewish State. He himself felt, and Arab leaders to whom he had spoken earnestly hoped, partition would not receive the necessary majerity; he strongly hinted we should use our influence to secure its rejection by the United Nations. In such an event he believed His Majesty's Government, as the friendly power, ought to make

// enc/

Reference:-



Reference:-**EO** 371 / 61888

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[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BAGDAD NO. 1034.

BETRUT NO. 714.

DAMASCUS NO. 583.

AMMAN NO. 504.

JEDDA NO. 475.

CAIRO NO. 2131.

B.M.E.O. NO. 822.

Nevember 18th, 1947. D. 8. 30. p.m. Nevember 18th, 1947.

IMPORTANT.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Damascus telegram No. 511 to Fereign Office [ef Nevember 13th: Arab League and Palestine.]

Have you any further information about creation of Arab Higher Command reported by Azzam Pasha? Do you consider that this makes any real difference to the likelihood of concerted Arab action in Palestine?

66666

19731 951 31.

[This telegram is of particular secrecy2eAdNOV 1947 should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM BAGDAD TO FORKIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Busk. D. 8.42 a.m. 22nd Nevember, 1947. No. 1150 A.

21st Nevember, R. 9.52 a.m. 22nd Nevember, 1947.

Repeated to Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Jedda, Caire,

SECRET.

Your telegram No. 1054.

I have no very definite information.

I am reporting fully by bag.

Beirut please pass to Damascus as my telegram No. 107, and Fereign Office to Amman as my telegram No. 78.

[Repeated to Aman]. 74 1011

Som Series

Nov. 25

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[10732]

PALESTINE

11 MG. Polital Policy. agam Pourta and Lyman P. M. ald whether 11.119. were prepared to clarify the following points majority of Porthon inducted upon by a last third majority of the art whether as next that fly legal a Trust he et to would British droop of Rollyfiel gittingal Filiner and and Tens should fighting brick of UN deven and But Fire wet large and

- In answer to this appears to be that we should only intervene if fighting broke out in an area which we were shi admin ist ving. if we had moved into encloves and franting occurred outside the enclaves we should not Stop it.

10740

completed:)

Tel) Damaseus 587 19 hov.

Rptd. Cario 2138

Baqdad 1039

Beint 716

Gedda 479

Terusalem

Annan 506

U.K. Del.

New York 3995

B.M.E.O. Cairo 826

Cin C. Red.

Tel) gedda 480 19 400.

Rptd.) Damaseus 588 Benut 717 Ammun 507 Bagdad 1040

> Cairo 2139 B.M.E.O. Cairo 827.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:- FO 371 61888

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1.

17 NOV

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Dundas. No.514. D. 10.10 a.m. 15th November, 1947.

R. 11.32 a.m. 15th November, 1947.

14th November, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo,
Bagdad,
Beirut,
Jedda,

110732

Jerusalem. New York (U.K.Delegation)

Amman, Middle East Minister, Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean.

SECRET.

Azzam Pasha and Syrian Prime Minister together asked me today whether His Majesty's Government were prepared to clarify the following point. If partition is decided upon by a two third majority at United Nations and whether or not Jews declare a Jewish State would British troops in Palestine intervene between Arabs and Jews should fighting break out at any time during period between the announcement of United Nations decision and our final evacuation.

2. They reiterate that the last thing they wanted was to find themselves in conflict with the British.

Foreign Office please pass to New York as my telegram No.9. Cairo please pass to MEMIN as my telegram No.36 Saving.

' [Repeated to U.K.Delegation New York].

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AMMENDED DISTRIBUTION. 17/11/47. [This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and ot passed on]. 44

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

r. Dundas. FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE. D. 10.10 a.m. 15th November, 19 No. 514.

14th November, 1947. R. 11.32 a.m. 15th November, 19 Repeated to Cairo, Bagdad, Beirut, Jedda, Jerusalem, New York (U.K. Delegation), Amman, British Middle East Office, Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean.

SECRET.

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For ign Office please pass to New York as my telegram No. 9. Cairo please pass to British Middle East Office as my telegram No. 36 Saving.

[Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York].

0:0

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypber (C.T.P.)

FROM PALESTING (Gen. Sir.A. Cunningham)

D. 15th November, 1947

R. 15th " " 14.3

14.30 hrs.

No.2170. Secret

Addressed to the S. of S. Repeated to Damascus No. 1569.

" Caire No. 142.

" Baghdad No. 81.

" Beirut No. 1570.

" Jedda No.87.

" UDEL New York (S. of S. please pass) No. 1571 and

Repeated by savingram to Amman No. 774.

Damascus telegram No. 514 to the Foreign Office

I hope it will be made quite clear to the Arab States that so long as British administration remains responsible for law and order in Palestine, British troops and police will certainly intervene in any fighting between Arabs and Jews.

(Copies sent to F.C. for retransmission to New York).

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

Mr. Beith.

- Mr. B. A. B. Burrows.

FC 371 61888

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypber (C.T.P.)

FROM PALEOTTE (Gen. Gir.A. Cunninghom)

D. 15th November, 1947

R. 15th " " 14.30 hrs.

No.2170. Secret

Addressed to the 3. of 3. Repeated to Damascus No. 1569.

" Caire No. 142.

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(Copies sent to F.C. for retransmission to New York).

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

Mr. Beith.

- Mr. B. A. B. Burrows.

Registry No. Draft.CONFIDENTIAL OUT FILE Jedda. My telegram No. 587 to Damascus Telegram.[of November 1914: Arab intervention No. 4.8.0 J in Palestine]. If you have an opportunity, please speak to Azzam Pasha on lines of my telegram under reference. Z Bagdad 1040 you cannot see him, please telegraph Cairo 2/39 what you know of his movements, so that BM & O.CAIRO 82 another of H.M. Representatives can Cypher take appropriate action. Cabinet Dist.

4)

OUTFILE

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO JEDDA

No. 480

D. 5.45 p.m. 19th Nevember, 1947.

19th Nevember, 1947.
Repeated to Damascus No. 588.
Beirut No. 717.
Amman No. 507.
Bagdad No. 1040.
Cairo No. 2159.
B.M.E.O. Cairo No. 827.

CONFIDENTIAL

My telegram No. 587 to Damascus [ef Nevember 19th: Arab intervention in Palestine].

Azzam Pasks on lines of my telegram under reference. If you cannot see him, please telegraph what you know of his movements, so that another of His Majesty's Representatives can take appropriate action.

KEE

6188

Registry B. A. B. B. Draft. Damas cus. Telegram.No.587 Dated. Nov: 19 Repeat to: Cairo 2/38 Bagdad 1039 Bei ut 7/6 Jedda 479 Jerusalem Amma.

NEW York 3995

B. M. E. O. CAIRO. 826

C. in C., Med.

Your telegram No. 514 [of 14th November: Arab intervention in Palestine 1.

While we remain responsible for the administration of the whole of Palestine, we shall naturally have to maintain law and order throughout the country, We should thus be obliged to resist by force any outside intervention from whatever quarter and any subversive movements within the The stage at which we should give up administrative responsibility over the whole or part of Palestine has not yet been decided. You should make it clear to the Syrian Government that, while the last thing we wish is to become involved in action against Arabs, we should be absolutely bound to act on

the/

Cypher

Cabinet Dist.

the above lines. We count on them not to make our task harder by intervention or by fostering trouble inside Palestine

2. I am asking H.M. Minister at

Jedda to make a communication in the above sense to Azzam Pahha, if he has the opportunity.

All MARGINAL MARGI

a. (1)

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO DAMASCUS

No. 587
D. 6. 10 p.m. 19th November, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo No. 2138

Bagdad No. 1039

Beirut No. 716

Jedda No. 497

Jerusalem No.

Amman No. 506

New York United Kingdom Delegation No. 3995

Cairo B.M.E.O. No. 826

Cammander in Chief Mediterranean

Secret

Your telegram No. 514 [of 14th November: Arab intervention in Palestine.]

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2. I am asking His Majesty's Minister at Jedda to make a communication in the above sense to Azzam Pasha, if he has the opportunity.

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| 1947 | PALESTINE | 17 NOV |
| Registry E10740/95-1/31 Number TELEGRAM FROM. No. (Invaran Dated Received in Registry) 15, Nov | Colorine Crab Frogram Coplis again aft Beglod to famis on the start a tool by again to weekle to event after the being Colorine took being Colorine took salt we allocking took salt are allockin | the trogi whenter exche and paid to kad han it of faudi transportant made ready for our ~ |
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| 70737 References. | This shows a | oderation on the |
| (Print.) | pat J kny | Abdullah Beins NN-17 Lillerym 11/4 |
| (How disposed of.) 8 Matheran. 60 M.1.3a M.0.4 Adapty A.M. May 17 (a. Fyb. 7.2a) | | J185 |
| (Action completed.) The paper. Next Paper. | Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P. | |

Reference:-FO 371 / 61888

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir A. Kirkbride. No. 341.

D. 10.40. a.m. 15th November 1947.

15th November 1947.

R. 9.33. p.m. 15th November ,1947.

Repeated to U.K. Del. New York. Bagdad. Jedda,

Beirut, Saving. Cairo, Damascus. " B.M.E.O. Cairo. Saving. Jerusalem.

110740

SECRET

Palestine.

After Azzam had left Bagdad the Iraqi Minister spoke to Samir on the telephone and said he had been asked by Azzam to ascertain whether Trans-Jordan would admit a detachment of Saudi troops in the event of such being made ready for use in Palestine. The Iraqi Minister said that Azzam had forgotten to put the question when he was at Amman. Salih Jabr went on to say that detachments of the Iraqi Army were now ready to move to Trans-Jordan and asked whether they could be admitted immediately and sited in the Jordan valley.

2. Both The King and the Prime Minister here , consulted me and said that my reaction against the proposals agreed with their own feelings. Salih Jabr was told that both moves would be premature and that he would be told when Trans-Jerdan needed assistance. Samir declined to give reply about Saudi Arabia direct to Azzam. Salih Jabr then said he would try to visit Amman soon in order to discuss the whole position.

Foreign Office please pass to the United Kingdom Delegation New York Bagdad and Jedda as my telegrams Nos. 16, 64 and 64 respectively.

[Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York Bagdad and Jedda.]

AMENDED DISTRIBUTION (17/11/47)

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir A. Kirkbride
No. 341
15th November, 1947

D. 10.40 a.m. 15th November, 1947 R. 9.33 p.m. 15th November, 1947

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York Bagdad Jedda

Jedda
Beirut (Saving)
Cairo (Saving)
Damascus (Saving)
B.M.E.O. Cairo (Saving)
Jerusalem (Saving)

SECRET

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Foreign Office please pass to the United Kingdom Delegation New York, Bagdad and Jedda as my telegrams Nos. 16, 64 and 64 respectively.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York, Bagdad and Jedda]

| 326 | | 110742 |
|---|---|---|
| 1947 | PALESTINE | 17 NOV |
| Registry 10742/951/31 TELEGRAM FROM W. M. M. M. M. Mow No. Dated Received 3425 in Registry M. M. M. | Allegat Lanning ration Alem New York (1/3320/6) Lind in Lead of the drawn or Ale hypton Och Chill I Har any references in III - our January references in IIII - our | 10590/gce/r) oftplich 2. ~ the porty flig to required - dilflig 1. Notines or 91/gcl |
| Last Paper. | They were cons | Λ |
| 10740. | | 17/11 |
| References. | | |
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| (Action completed.) | | |
| Next Paper. | | |

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

E10747

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENT'AL NO.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE (From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

D.11.20 p.m. 16th November. 1947. No.3405 16th November, 1947.

Repeated to Washington Saving

Repeated to Washington Saving

1947.

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Following for Higham Colonial Office from Martin. My telegram No.3320. 101 70/9,

Attention will no doubt be drawn at your working party on Monday to Washington telegrams Nos.6451 and 6452, in the light of which special care will be required in drafting any references to United Kingdom in our statements on illegal immigration.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office for Mr Highman]

вввв



OFFICE,

Next Paper.

(Action completed.)

10748

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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PALEST!NE

747 17 NOV

British Attitude towards essets of

Palestine Government.

Refers hew York tel. 3395 of 15 nov.

(E10728 |951 |31) Kat Foreign Office deviced that Britain plans financial surphus in Palestine 10 costs of evacuation and combatting Jewish Dumpration.

(Minutes.)

See E 10727

85 mov. 19

61888

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION

DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No: 3396

D. 8.50.p.m.15th November 1947

15th November 1947

R. 2.42.a.m.16th November 1947

Repeated to Palestine
Washington, Saving

d. 1074.7

IMMEDIATE Giant.

Following for Colonial Office: 17 NOV

My telegram No: 3395.

Reuter's have received report from London stating that Foreign Office denied today that Britain plans to take over any financial surplus in Palestine before leaving to pay costs of evacuation and combatting unauthorised Jewish immigration.
"Not only is there no such plan but there is no such intention" a Foreign Office spokesman told reporters.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No: 190.

[Copy sent to Telgraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

X:X:X:

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher OTP

(5)

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGH OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3406

D. 11.28 p.m. 16th Nevember 1947.

16th Nevember 1947.

R. 5.50 a.m. 17th November 1947.

Repeated to Washington (Saving)

ILMEDIATE
SECRET
GLANT

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1.10.75

Palestine.

My immediately following telegram contains draft now before Working Group on implementation containing suggested revisions of Sections A and B of Part I of [grp.undec.? majority] recommendations of U.N.S.C.O.P. This has been communicated privately to United Kingdom Delegation by Pearson who explained that it was final working draft generally approved, with the exception of paragraphs Al and 2 (which require further examination in the light of Cadegan's statement of 13th November) and the penultimate paragraph (suggested by Canada and acceptable to United States, who do not want Security Council to hamstring the Commission, but turned down by U.S.S.R. who consider that it does not place the Commission in proper position of subordination to Council). Draft will be further considered by Working Group temorrow and their report is not likely to be complete till Tuesday, so that there seems to be no chance of matter being ready for discussion in Ad Hoc Committee before Thursday.

- 2. Pearson stated that U.S.S.R. did not believe that we could not complete withdrawal of our troops before 1st August and added that other Delegations were secretical on this point. He therefore suggested that as soon as convenient we should make a further statement explaining as clearly as we could that our decision was governed solely by considerations of logistics and that the bulk of our combat troops would be withdrawn at an earlier date.
- J. U.S.S.R. also refuse to agree that fair and unprejudiced elections could be held so long as any British troops remain in the country.
- Le Pearson feels that United Kingdom would be subject to very severe criticism should we refuse to co-sperate

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in any way if plan is accepted by United Nations, and that we ought to make our attitude elear at any rate on this point before a vote is taken. He said that, while there had been much sympathy and support for us when we first brought the problem before the United Nations, feeling was certainly now changing and many Delegations were increasingly critical of the attitude of the United Kingdom. There was a danger that the United States would escape the censure they deserve and all the heat would be turned on us.

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| PALESTINE | 17 NOV | · · |

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Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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[This telegram is of particular see and should be retained by the authorised recipient and no passed on].

Cypher/OTP

FORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE (From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3407

D. 11.45 p.m. 16th November, 1947

16th November, 1947.

R. 6.15 a.m. 17th November, 1947

Repeated to Washington Baving

IMANDIATE SECRET GIANT

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text:

[Begins].

- A. Termination of Mandate, partition and independence.
- 1. The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate on 1st May, 1948 and the armed forces of the Mandatory Power shall be withdrawn from Palestine by that date.
- 2. Independent Arab and Jewish States shall come into existence in Palestine on 1st July, 1948 or at such earlier date subsequent to 1st May, 1948 as the U.M. Commission referred to below recommends and the Security Council approves. (The City of Jerusalem shall be administered under trusteeship by the U.M.). The boundaries of the Arab State, the Jewish State and the City of Jerusalem are described in Parts 11 and 111 below.
- Assembly of recommendations on the question of Palestine and the proclamation of the independence of the Jewish and Arab States shall be a transitional period.
 - B. Steps preparatory to independence.
- 1. There shall be a commission appointed by the General Assembly of five members representing....(small Powers names to be inserted later).
- 2. The administration of Palestine during the transitional period shall be entrusted to the Commission, acting in conformity with the recommendations of the acting in conformity with the guidance of the Security Council. General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council. In the discharge of this administrative responsibility the

/Commission

Commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required. The Mandatory Power shall not issue any regulation to prevent or obstruct the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly. At a view to ensuring that there shall be continuity in the functioning of administrative services and that on the termination of the Mandate the whole administration shall be in charge of the previsional councils, acting under the Commission, there shall be a progressive transfer, from the Mandatory to the Previsional Councils of Government, of responsibility for all the functions of Government, including that of maintaining law and proof in the areas from which the forces of the Mandatory have withdrawn.

- A. On its arrival in Polestine the Commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frantiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine.
- B. The Commission, after consultation with the Democratic parties and other public organisations of the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State a Provisional Council of Government. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission. If by 1st April 1948 Provisional Councils of Government cannot be selected for both of the States or, if selected connet carry out their functions, the Commission shall communicate that fact to the Security Council for such action as the occurity Council may deem proper and to the Secretary General for communication to the members of the U.H.
- C. The Provisional Council of Government of each State not later than six months after its formation (but in any case before 1st July, 1948), shall hold elections to the Constituent Assembly on democratic lines. The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are:
 - (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that state and
- relestinian citizens who before veting have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State. Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish States respectively. Tomen may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies. During the transitional

/period

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period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab State, and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State, except by special leave of the Commission.

- D. The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic constitution for its State and choose a provisional government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The constitutions of the States shall embody Chapters 1 and 2 of the declaration provided for in C below, and include inter alia provisions for:
- (1) Establishing in each State a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballet on the basis of prepertional representation and an executive body responsible to the legislature.
- (2) Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.
- (5) Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the U.N.
- (4) Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech, and publication, education, assembly and association.
- (5) Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other State in Palestine (and the City of Jerusalem), subject to considerations of national security; provided that each State shall control residence within its borders.
- (6) Recognise the rights of the Governor of the City of Jerusalem to determine whether the provisions of the constitution of the States in relation to hely places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the States and the religious rights appertaining thereto, are being properly applied and respected, and to make decisions in cases of disputes which may arise with respect to such hely places, buildings and sites; also accord to him full cooperation and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in those States.
- E. The Previsional Councils of Government of both the Arab and Jewish States, after their formation, shall proceed

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/under

under the supervision of the Commission to the establishing of administrative organs of government, central and local.

- F. The Provisional Council of Government of each state shall within the shortest time possible recruit an armed militial from the residents of that State sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes. This armed militia in each State shall for operational purposes be under the command of Jewish or rab officers resident in that State but general political and military control including the choice of the militia's high command shall be exercised by the Commission.
- gp, undec.] the transitional period the Provisional Councils of Government acting under the Commission shall have full authority in the areas under their control including matters of immigration and land regulation.
- 4. During the period between the adoption of the recommendations on the question of Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the Mandate, the Mandatory Power in Palestine shall maintain order and direct the main public services to the extent that these have not yet been placed fully or partially under the direction of the Commission and Provisional Councils of Government. The Commission shall assist the Mandatory Power in the carrying out of these functions. Similarly the Mandatory shall cooperate with the Commission in the execution of its functions.
- 5. The Previsional Councils of Government, acting under the Commission, shall have full responsibility for the administration of Palestine in the period, if any, between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the two independent States.
- 6. The Commission shall be guided in its activities by the recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions recommendations of the Security Council may consider necessary to issue. The as the Security Council may consider necessary to issue. The measure taken by the Commission, within the recommendations of the General Assembly shall become immediately effective unless the General Assembly shall become immediately effective unless the Commission had previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council. The Commission shall render periodic mentally progress reports, or more frequently if desirable, to the Security Council.

[Ends].

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as an "Arab Higher Command" may really exist, it is permually a tool of the Arab League and of Egypt. 26 so, 5 see no possibility of its being word to coordinate our defence policy with the Arab States in any manner at all ratisfactory to us. It may will be true that the best way of getting an agreement with Cappit is to go ahead with the negotiation of defence arrangements with the better-Disposed Arab States, leaving Egypt to gravitate later and voluntarily towards the blor thus formed. But such negotiations would have to be exclusively with the individual formulates concerned

I don't if we need comment on Agam's remarks on this Sount at present, Horgh we should hear in mind the advantage of Juring our Missions gundance or his theory, serlass when our own Egyphan boling is a little more ergstalliged.

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

En clair (By confidential bag). CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

1.10771

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Busk. No. 31 Saving. 5th November, 1947.

M. 17th Movember, 1947.

Repeated to Jedda No. 38 Saving,
Beirut No. 40
U.K. Delegation New York No. 15 Saving,
Cairo No. 66 Saving,
British Middle East Office Cairo No. 47 Saving,
Damascus No. 44 Saving,
Jerusalem No. 55
I,
Amman No. 45

RESTRICTED.

I called on Azzam Pasha for an hour yesterday evening.

He talked at length on Palestine and strongly condemned

present United States activity in bringing pressure to bear on
other states in favour or partition. He showed me a telegram
other states in favour or partition. He showed me a telegram
from the Thir Feisal at New York stating that the representatives
of three South American countries who had previously promised
of three South American countries who had now declared privately
to abstain from voting on Palestine had now declared privately
that under United States pressure they would vote for partition.

- Defence in the Middle East and observed that the committee of Arab Chiefs of Staff (paragraph 3 Deirut telegram No. 740) is the first step in this direction. I made no comment on this though I doubt if it is a helpful step but emphasised that though I doubt if it is a helpful step but emphasised that whoever starts fighting in Palestine would have the death of thousands of Arabs and Jews on his conscience and the winner would find only a wilderness.
 - 3. Azzam intends to fly to Jedda, first returning to Beirut.
- 4. General press comment in Bagdad continues to be wild and exaggerated (Bagdad telegram No. 965, paragraph 2). The Prime Minister has been very outspoken to several United States visitors and to Mr. Phillips Price M.P. Several Deputies who had been invited to a reception at the Soviet Deputies who had been invited to a reception at the Soviet Legation have declined to attend since the Soviet representative at New York announced his Government's support for partition.

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Confidential.

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP.

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK.

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

No. 3980.

D. 7.40 p.m. 18th November 1947.

18th November 1947.

Repeated to: Washington, No. 11921 and

Jerusalem.

MOST IMMEDIATE.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Your telegram No. 3422 [of November 17th: Palestine].

I agree generally with your paragraph 4. We can clearly not accept the conception of a United Nations commission or provisional councils of government functioning with independent authority (e.g. over immigration) while our administrative responsibility continues. When the time came for relinquishing our authority, we should, on the assumption that partition had been approved and a United Nations commission existed, hand it over to this commission and not to councils of government or any other representatives of the two States. It would be for the commission to hand over to whatever authorities they chose.

2. For your own information, while there are important military arguments in favour of maintaining civil administration for a considerable part of the period up to August 1st, there are other very strong arguments against this, as set out in my telegram No. 3875. If the proposals in your telegram No. 3423 are adopted, this will be an additional argument for abandening our administrative responsibility at the earliest possible moment. Final plans for phasing of withdrawal in the light of these considerations have not yet been drawn up. We are entitled to lay down the mandate and relinquish administrative responsibility from the moment that a United Nations dommission arrives in Palestine. We should therefore try by all possible means to delay despatch of United Nations commission until we are ready to hand over to it. If it could not be delayed until this time, it would be essential that, pending our relinquishing responsibility, the commission should have only

exploratory

Even the presence of a commission on these lines, however, would be very likely to cause added disturbances in Palestine and thus greatly increase the difficulty of our task and you should not in any way commit yourself to accepting it.

- criticisms of various proposals which are made we may incur some unpopularity at United Nations, but I am naturally more influenced by reactions to our attitude in this country and in the Middle East. It should surely be possible to defend our criticisms on the general grounds that the Working Group proposals do not provide so far as we can ascertain for effective implementation, in view of the very severe reactions they are likely to provoke in Palestine. In the circumstances and in view of the fact that this partition plan is not the only plan before the Palestine Committee we cannot at this stage anyway be associated with the Working Group proposals. Further I fear that we should find ourselves in the position of providing the whole force required for implementation.
- 4. It would be of interest to us to know whether the Evatt Sub-Committee for conciliation has yet been invoked to narrow any differences between the plans of the two other Sub-Committees. If not it would be well to express regret that greater efforts have not been made so far towards some conciliation of the two opposing points of view. In this connexion, please telegraph urgently substance of report of Sub-Committee 2, with your comments and estimate of its probable reception.
- 5. Can you confirm that United States Government are applying pressure to other delegations to vote in favour of partition?

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3422

D. 1.37 a.m. 17th November, 1947 R. 7.13 a.m. 18th November, 1947

17th November, 1947 Repeated Washington, Jerusalem,

MOST IMMEDIATE

Palestine.

18 NOV

1.10776

My immediately following telegram contains the revised text of the proposals made by the working group on implementation as adopted (subject to possible amendment of paragraph B5) by Sub Committee 1 on 17th November.

- 2. You will notice that the five States to be represented on the proposed United Nations Commission are named in the text (paragraph Bl). This list was proposed by delegate for Venezuela and adopted without opposition.
- 3. United Kingdom observer took no part in the discussion of this text except to warn the Sub Committee that silence did not imply consent.
- 4. The points to which, as we see it here, we shall have to raise objection at a later stage are the following:
- (A) the requirement of Security Council approval of the dates both for the termination of the mandate and for the withdrawal of British forces (Al and 2);
- (B) the proposal that the administration of Palestine before the termination of the mandate shall be entrusted to the United Nations Commission (B2 read in conjunction with A4);
- (C) the apparent intention that the last sentence of B2 should apply to the whole country before the mandate is terminated and to the areas under British military control afterwards;
- (D) the absence from B6 of any qualification in respect of military areas;
- (E) the proposal that the United Nations Commission should assist the mandatory administration before its termination in the maintenance of order and the direction of public services (Bl2);
- (F) the provision for a progressive transfer of functions by the mandatory administration to the provisional councils of Government (Bl3).
- 5. We should welcome most immediate confirmation that acceptance of these parts of the plan would be inconsistent with your instructions together with any additional guidance.

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OM W.

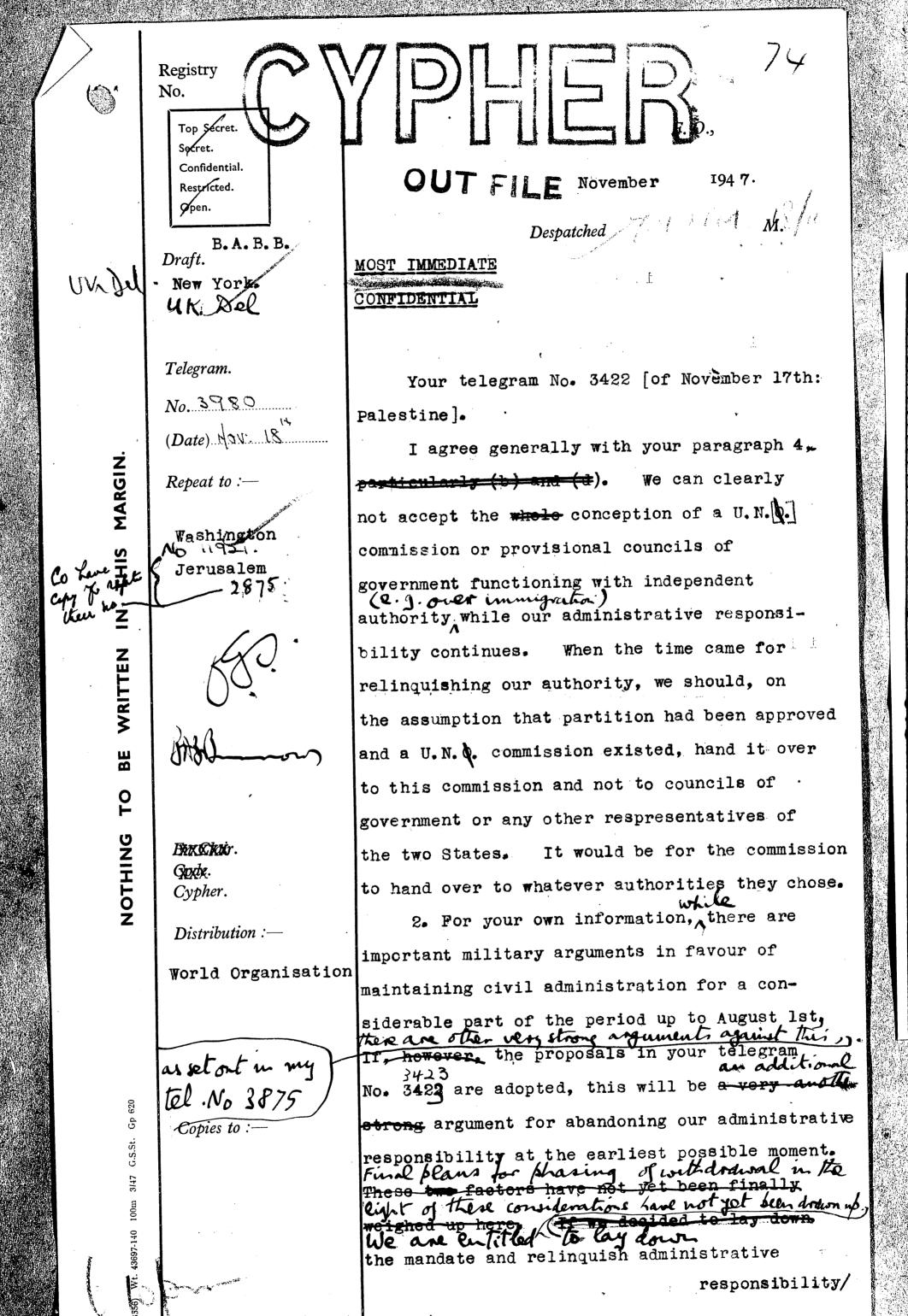
on the attitude we should adopt to the plan as a whole when it is debated in the main Committee.

6. As our comments will presumably kill the proposal in anything like its present form, and draw upon us the criticism that our unco-operative attitude has torpedoed a solution supported by the United States, U.S.S.R., Canada and the other members of this United Nations Sub Committee it would be well if we could to include some more definite indication than we have yet given of our positive intentions particularly as regards the phases of our withdrawal. Jews in particular might then divert their attention to plans for following us up in their areas as we withdraw without intervention of any United States Commission. There are indications that some at least of the Arabs are already thinking in terms of developments of that nature in predominantly Arab areas.

Fereign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 192.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem].

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versonsibility from the moment that a U.N. Commission arrives in Palestine.

responsibility at morn certy date be should terefore have to try by all possible means to delay despatch of U.N. commission until we were ready to hand over to it. If it could not be delayed until this time, it would be essential that, pending our relinquishing responsibility, the commission should have only exploratory and not administrative functions. Even the presence of a commission on these lines, however, would/cause added disturbances in Palestine and thus greatly increase the difficulty of our task and you should not at present in any way commit yourself to accepting it.

_ 3. I realise that, by emphasising our criticisms of various proposals which are made we may incur some unpopularity at U.N. . , but I am naturally more influenced by reactions to our attitude in this country and in the Middle It should surely be possible to defend East. our criticisms on the general grounds that the so far as we can ascertam working group proposals do not provide/for effective implementation, in view of the very view of the fact that This severe reactions they are likely to produce in Palestine and that we cannot therefore be mey plan before The l'alestine This stage anyway be The working group proposals. ourselves in the position of providing the whole whether the Evalt tub-ctter force required for implementation.

for con wh you should also express regret that greater efforts) have not been made towards conciliation of the two opposing points of view. In this connexion please telegraph urgently substance of report of sub-committee 2, with your comments and estimate of its probable reception.

It would be of interest to us to know

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10 - Committee

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5. Can you confirm that United States Government are applying pressure to other delegations to vote in favour of partition?

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INWARD TELEGRAM

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FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

TO So OF So, COLONDES.

D. 19th November, 1947.
R. 19th " 15,30 hrs.

MOST INMEDIATE

No. 2304 Top Secret and Personal.

Addressed S. of S. Repeated UKDEL No. 1599.

Your telegram No. 3980 to UKDEL repeated to Jerusalem No. 2875,

l. I agree most emphatically that a quite impossible situation would be created here if a U.N.O. Commission were given any power to enforce partition in Palestine while our Administration was still in existence, even if the Committee were composed of neutrals as between Araba and Jews. The suggestion that we should maintain law and order during this period is of course tentamount to the enforcement of partition by the British.

I have considered possible timing of such handover, which we think should be completed willy nilly within a fortnight of Commission's arrival in Palestine. You will now have seen the military proposals for withdrawal which were arrived at by discussion between C.-in-C. M. E. I., F. and myself, in which despation of civil Government was timed to coincide with military withdrawal from Jerusalem from middle to end of May; and if arrival of Commission in Palestine could be delayed till them I have no doubt that this would make for smoothest withdraws? under these diroumstances, Retraction of potential date rould make military withdrawel more difficult, as they are describer on civil easisterce.

particularly/

particularly in early stages. From sivil point of view the end of financial year might have some attraction as handing over date. I have not discussed with 0.0.0, in detail the effect of closing down civil administration earlier, but he is in England until Monday next and it might be advantageous for you to have his views.

3. I should add that fact that we will have to resist certain provisions of the Sub Committee's Report will probably cause increased trouble with Jews here, but I have no doubt that if a Commission of the composition recommended is cent here it can only result in inflaming Arabs on account of its membership alone. If U.N.O. really has desire for peace in Palestine they must take some account of Arab feelings as we know them here. Has it been considered who will be responsible for Security Commission itself? (Copies sent to Foreign Office for onward transmission to New York).

Distributed to: -

INWARD TELEGRAM

Distributed to:

Mr. Martin R. 243 Secretary of State Mr. Gutch Mr. Mathieson Sir T. Lloyd Mr. Highen Mr. Galeworthy Mr. Holmor Mr. Gibson Mr. Reca-Williams
Sir G. Caine
Gir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding Mr. S.E.V. Luke. Brigadier Cornvell-Conce. Cabinet Offices Commander Evershed. Mr. A.J. Newlings Ministry of Defence Hr. D.F.C. Mint. Hr. W. Russell-Edmands. Treasury Mr. P.F.N. Symotk.
Captain Maunsell.
Captain D.H. Hell-Toompson.
Mr. G.C.B. Dodds.
Brigadier J.R.O. Hemilton.
Brigadier J.R.O. Hemilton.
Li. Col. E.M. Charteris. Admiralty War Office Mr. B.F. Picknett. Ministry of Transport Mr. P.C. Rennie. Air Commodore Block. Air Hinistry Group Captell V.H.H. Roth. Poreign Office Mr. B.A.B. Bunkub. Mr. P. Carrane Mr. J.G.S. Beith. Mr. J.C. Bobortson. Mars So

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1.10777

PALESTINE

18 NOV

Troposide try Working Group on Implementation

Lifet New York til 3422 (E10776/971/81)

How transmit list of neural proposeds

mide by Working Group on Emplementation.

(Minutes.

Sir A. Cadogais Comments are in £ 10776. Instructions have been sent to fir A. Caelogan on the line he should take in regard to these latest proposals. A separate hote has been submitted giving the position up to date pm.

Nov. 19

9. P.P. amendment Hijs. 22/1 JBMW. 24 2n-P.P. 80-6/ 2895 29/11 PBMV. 28

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

E10777/951/3/

AMENDMENT SLIP.

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

New York telegram No. 3423 of Nevember 17th to Foreign Office (from United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

Section B.4.

Second paragraph begins "if the two Previsional Councils....."

Third paragraph begins "If by 1st April 1948."

Communications Department.

22nd November 1947.

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En Clair

WORLD ORGANISATI N DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3423 17th November, 1947. D. 3.00 a.m. 18th November, 1947. R. 8.40 a.m. 18th November, 1947.

Repeated to Washington Jerusalem

MOST IMMEDIATE

GIANT

: 10777

Following is text.

A. Termination of mandate partition and independence.

My immediately preceding telegrapa NOV

- 1. The mandate for Palestine shall terminate at a date to be agreed on by the Commission referred to in paragraph B1 below and the mandatory power with the approval of the Security Council but in any case not later than 1st August 1948.
- 2. The armed forces of the mandatory power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed on a date to be agreed by the Commission and the mandatory power with the approval of the Security Council, but in any case not later than 1st August 1948. The Commission shall enter into discussion with the mandatory power with a view to the evacuation in the territory of each proposed State of a sea port at an early stage. The mandatroy power shall advise the Commission as far in advance as possible of its intention to evacuate each area.
- 3. Independent Arab and Jewish States shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory power has been completed, but in any case not later than 1st October 1948. (The city of Jerusalem shall be administered as may be finally decided). The boundaries of the Arab State the Jewish State and the city of Jerusalem shall be as described in parts 11 and 111 below.
- Assembly of Recommendations on the question of Palestine oand the establishment of the independence of the Jewish and Arab States shall be a transitional period.
- B. Steps preparatory to independence.
- 1. There shall be a Commission appointed by the General Assembly of five members representing Uruguay, Guatemala, Poland, Norway and Iceland.
- 2. The administration of Palestine during the transitional period shall be entrusted to the Commission which shall act

in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly under the guidance of the Security Council. In the discharge of this administrative responsibility, the Commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required. The mandatory power shall not issue any regulation to prevent, obstruct, or delay, the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly.

- 3. On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall preceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine.
- 4. The Commission, after consultation with the Democratic parties and other public organisations of the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State as rapidly as possible a Previsional Council of Government. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission. If the two Provisional Councils cannot be established simultaneously the fact that one of them is not ready to be formed shall not prevent or impede the establishment of the Council which is prepared to assume its functions. If by 1st April 1948 a Provisional Council of Government cannot be selected for either of the States, or if selected cannot carry out its functions, the Commission shall communicate that fact to the Security Council, for such action as the Security Council may deem proper. and to the Secretary General for communication to the members ef the United Nations.
- 5. Subject to the provisions of these recommendations during the transitional period, the Provisional Council of Government, acting under the Commission, shall have full authority in the areas under their control, including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation. The monthly rate of 6,250 Jewish immigrants per month recommended by the majority of U.N.S.C.O.P. shall enter into force in the area of the Jewish State immediately upon the assumption by the Commission of its duties in Palestine. Similarly the operation of the land regulations of 1940 shall at that stage be discontinued in the Jewish State area.
- 6. The Provisional Council of Government of each State acting under the Commission shall have full responsibility for the administration of that State in the period between the termination of the mandate and the establishment of independence.
- 7. The Provisional Councils of Government of both the Arab and Jewish States after their formation shall proceed under the supervision of the Commission to the establishment of administrative organs of Government central and local.
 - 8. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall /within

within the shortest time possible recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes. This armed militia in each State shall for operational purposes be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State but general political and military control, including the choice of the militias High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.

- 9. The Provisional Councils of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines. The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are
 - (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that State and
- (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the State although not Palestinian citizens who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State.

Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to both in the Arab and Jewish States respectively. Similarly residents of either State who have given notice of intention to opt for citizenship in the other State shall be entitled to vote in the State for which they opt. Women may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies. During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the Proposed Arab State and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State except by special leave of the Commission.

- a democratic constitution for its State, and choose a Provisional Government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The constitutions of the States shall embody chapters 1 and 2 of the declaration provided for in C below and include inter alia provisions for
- (a) Establishing in each State a legislative bedy elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballet on the basis of proportional representation and an executive body responsible to the legislature.
- (b) Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered
- (c) Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of

/any

within the shortest time possible recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes. This armed militia in each State shall for operational purposes be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State but general political and military control, including the choice of the militias High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.

- 9. The Provisional Councils of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on de ocratic lines. The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are
 - (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that State and
- (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the State although not Palestinian citizens who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State.

Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to both in the Arab and Jewish States respectively. Similarly residents of either State who have given notice of intention to opt for citizenship in the other State shall be entitled to vote in the State for which they opt. Women may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies. During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the Proposed Arab State and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State except by special leave of the Commission.

- 10. The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic constitution for its State, and choose a Provisional Government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The constitutions of the States shall embedy chapters 1 and 2 of the declaration provided for in C below and include inter alia provisions for
- (a) Establishing in each State a legislative bedy elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballet on the basis of proportional representation and an executive bedy responsible to the legislature.
- (b) Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered
- (c) Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of



any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

- (d) Guaranteeing to all persons equal and nondiscriminatory rights in civil, political, economic, and religious matters, and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association
- (e) Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other State in Palestine (and the City of Jerusalem) subject to considerations of national security provided that each State shall control residence within its borders
- (f) (Recognise the rights of the Governor of the City of Jerusalem to determine whether the provisions of the constitution of the States in relation to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the States, and the religious rights appertaining thereto, are being properly applied and respected and to make decisions in cases of disputes which may arise with respect to such Holy Places buildings and sites—also accord to him full co-operation and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in those States)
- 11. The Commission shall appoint a Preparatory Economic Commission of three members to make whatever arrangements are possible for economic co-operation, with a view to establishing as soon as practicable the economic union and the joint economic board as provided in Section D below.
- tions of the question of Palestine by the General Assembly, and the termination of the mandate, the mandatory power in Palestine shall maintain order and direct the main public services to the extent that these have not yet been placed fully or partially under the direction of the Commission of the Provisional Councils of Government and the Joint Economic Board respectively. The Commission shall assist the mandatory power in the carrying out of these functions, Similarly the mandatory shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its functions.
- in the functioning of administrative service and that, on the termination of the mandate, the whole administration shall be in charge of the Provisional Councils and the Joint Economic Board respectively, acting under the Commission, there shall be a progressive transfer from the mandatory power to the Provisional Councils of Government and the Joint Economic Board respectively, of responsibility for all the functions of Government including that of maintaining law and order in the areas from which the forces of the mandatory power have withdrawn.
 - 14. The Commission shall be guided in its activities by the /recommendations

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1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:- 371 61888

recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions as the Security Council may consider necessary to issue. The measures taken by the Commission within the recommendations of the General Assembly shall become immediately effective unless the Commission has previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council. The Commission shall render periodic monthly progress reports or more frequently if desirable to the Security Council.

15. The Commission shall make its final report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council simultaneously.

Foreign Office please pass immediately to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 193.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem]

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

m,

75872/154/22/47

10447 95-1 31

Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 20th November, 1947. 14.15 hrs.

IMPORTANT

No. 2895 Top Secret and Personal.

Addressed High Commissioner Palestine. Repeated U.K.D.E.L. New York, for Martin.

Plan for implementation of partition to be submitted to Palestine Committee by Sub-Committee One includes provision for recruitment of armed militias by provisional councils of government in each state within shortest time possible after their establishment by United Nations Commission. If this plan secures necessary pajority and if we insist on terminating Mandatory Government before or very shortly after arrival of Commission, Jews may well press for prior recognition of Hagana by Palestine Government in order that it may openly prepare to support Jewish provisional Government and United Nations Commission when they are set up. It will then be arguable that the Palestine Government should not obstruct the recommendations of the Assembly by denying the Jews facilities for preparing the defence of the Jewish State. If Hagana is recognized it would be difficult to refuse recognizion to Najjada and Futtuwa although these organizations would palpably be preparing to obstruct and not co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan.

2. This problem has no doubt been considered by you and I should be grateful to have your views on the question of the attitude which should be adopted by the Mandatory Government to para-military organizations both Jewish and Arah up to the date of the relinquishment of the Mandate. Has

possibili w/



possibility been considered of United Nations Commission taking over Trans-Jordan Frontier Porce as nucleus of militia for Arab States

(Copies sent to Cypher Room Foreign Office for repetition to New York)

Distributed to: -

R.243
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Caine
Sir G. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Foreign Office

Cabinet Offloes Ministry of Defence Mr. Trafford Smith Mr. Gutch Mr. Mathieson Mr. Highen Mr. Gelsworthy Mr. Holmer Mr. Gibson

Mr. Beith. Mr. Burrows. Commander Brevahad. Brigadier Commall-Jones.



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1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:- 371 61888

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3424

D. 5.00 a.m. 18th November, 1947

18th November, 1947. R.11.20 a.m. 18th November, 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington Saving

GIANT

My telegram No. 3117.

Palestine Sub-Committee I decided on 15th November to adopt following in substitution for Section 1 of Chapter 3 of the Declaration.

"Citizenship.

Palestinian citizens residing in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine out-side the City of Jerusalem shall, upon the recognition of independence become citizens of the state in which they are resident and enjoy full civil and political rights.

Persons over the age of eighteen years may opt within one year for citizenship of the other state providing that no Arab residing in the area of the proposed Arab state shall have the right to out for citizenship in the shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Jewish state and no Jew residing in the proposed Jewish state shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Arab state. The exercise of this right of option will be taken to include the wives and children under 18 years of age of persons so opting."

2. It was also decided to add the following sentence to Section 2 of Chapter 3.

"Any dispute about the applicability or continued validity of international conventions or treaties signed or adhered to by the Mandatory power on behalf of Palestine shall be referred to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court."

The first paragraph of Section 3 was amended to read as follows

"Financial obligations. The state shall respect and fulfil all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the Mandatory power during the exercise of the Mandate and recognised by the This provision includes the right of public servants to pensions compensation or gratuities. The obligations shall be fulfilled through participation in the Joint Economic Board in respect of those obligations applicable to Palestine as a whole and individually in respect of those applicable to and fairly apportionable between the states. A court of claims composed of one member appointed by the United Nations, one representative of the United Kingdom and one representative of the state should be established in each

state and affiliated with the Joint Economic Board. Any dispute between the United Kingdom and the state respecting claims not recognised by the latter should be referred to that court".

The United States representative at first recommended deletion of the words "and recognised by the state" but later withdrew his recommendation when it was opposed by the Jewish Agency. The United Kingdom representative pointed out that this section was part of a declaration to be made by the Provisional Governments requiring them to give certain guarantees as a prior condition of independence, he asked whether inclusion of the words "and recognised by the state" would not mean that the Provisional Governments would in fact be giving no undertaking at all in this matter. The question was ignored.

4. After some opposition from the United States delegation which was eventually withdrawn the following paragraph regarding division of the surplus revenue of the Economic Board was approved in substitution for that of U.N.S.C.O.P.

"After these obligations have been met in full the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than five percent and not more than ten percent to the City of Jerusalem and the residue shall be allocated to each state by the Joint Economic Board equally, except that the share of either state shall not exceed the amount of that state's contribution to the revenues of the economic union by more than approximately four million pounds in any year. The amount granted may be adjusted by the Board according to the price level in relation to the prices prevailing at the time of the establishment of the union. After five years the principles of the distribution of the joint revenues shall be revised by the Joint Economic Board on a basis of equity".

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 194.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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Confidential. Restricted.

MARAAM

Draft.

Sir A. Cadogan New York.

Telegram.

Repeat to:-

JB MV. 24 Gode:

Distribution :-

Cypher.

TED IN C.B. : 13 DEPT. Copies to:

IMMEDIATE: CONFIDENTIAL Ail. UK Bel. N. York No. 40 69 Nov 24 Repeated for intn. to Jernsalem.

Your telegram No. 34 [] [] Nov. 18: Palutine]

mendment to first paragraph of Section 3 dealing with Financial Obligations would, as the U.K. representative pointed out, appear to make the undertaking to assume such obligations completely valueless. The provision for reference of disputes to a Court of Claims would not offer adequate safeguard. In particular it seems probable that the State would refuse to accept as an obligation the compensation terms, etc. evolved for application to public servants which will of course have to be announced to the Service as soon as possible and in advance of the termination of the Mandate. Even statutory rights to pensions, etc., would appear to be liable to rejection under the clause as revised. In the circumstances, we consider that the adoption by the Assembly of this amendment should be strongly resisted even to the extent of making agreement to surrender assets dependent on its modification. We think that the position should be that any obligation admitted by the Palestine Government at any time before its determination, even after the appointment of the U.H. Commission, /should...

should be automatically honoured by the successor Government and that the legality of any claims which have not been formally admitted by the Palestine Government should be tried in the ordinary courts of the successor Government.

- 2. We also suggest that any clause in the agreed settlement relating to the handing over of assets to the successor Government should contain provisions enabling the U.H. Commission to negotiate with H.M.G. regarding the treatment of particular assets in appropriate cases.
- raised in discussion here is that we understand that there are certain immovable properties vested in the High Commissioner for Palestine which were acquired on behalf of Service departments and paid for from Imperial funds. It is considered that H.M.G. would have a justifiable claim to compensation in this respect (of the assumption of these assets by the successor authority) and that an appropriate opportunity should be taken of bringing this point to notice.

JB Mr. 24

NOTHING

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Confidential. Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

F OM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK.

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

No. 4069.

24th November, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem for information.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Addressed United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram No. 4069 November, 24th. Repeated for information to Jerusalem.

Your telegram No. 3424 [of November 18th: Palestine].

Amendment to first paragraph of Section 3 dealing with Financial Obligations would, as the United Kingdom representative pointed out, appear to make the undertaking to assume such obligations completely valueless. The provision for reference of disputes to a Court of Claims would not offer adequate safeguard. In particular it seems probable that the successor State would refuse to accept as an obligation the compensation terms, etc. evolved for application to public servants which will of course have to be announced to the Service as soon as possible and in advance of the termination of the Mandate. Even statutory rights to pensions, etc., would appear to be liable to rejection under the clause as revised. In the circumstances, we consider that the adoption by the Assembly of this amendment should be strongly resisted even to the extent of making agreement to surrender assets dependent on its We think that the position should be that modification. any obligation admitted by the Palestine Government at any time before its determination, even after the appointment of the United Nations Commission, should be automatically honoured by the successor Government and that the legality of any claims which have not been formally admitted by the Palestine Government should be tried in the ordinary courts of the successor Government.

- 2. We also suggest that any clause in the agreed settlement relating to the handing over of assets to the successor Government should contain provisions enabling the United Nations Commission to negotiate with His Majesty's Government regarding the treatment of particular assets in appropriate cases.
- indiscussion here is that we understand that there are certain immovable properties vested in the High Commissioner for Palestine which were acquired on behalf of Service departments and paid for from Imperial funds. It is considered that His Majesty's Government would have a justifiable claim to compensation in respect of these assets and that an appropriate opportunity should be taken of bringing this point to notice.



SECRET

The Church House, Great Smith Street, London, S.W. 1.

95

My Reference ...75872/154/27 •

Your Reference

November 22, 1947.

108/2/95-1 31

Dear Britt,

We have been discussing with the Treasury and our Legal Advisers the position arising out of the proposed amendment of the first paragraph of section 3 of the UNSCOP recommendations as reported in Sir Alexander Cadogan's telegram to the Foreign Office No. 343 of 3424 the 18th November. I attach a draft telegram representing the conclusions reached in our discussion. If you see no objection, would you arrange to have it despatched and let me know when it has gone so that I can have it repeated to Jerusalem?

Snieurlz Solun Guech (J. Gutch)

J.G.S. BEITH, ESQ.

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(Minutes.)

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JB Mr, 20

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108/4

Next Paper

(Action completed.)

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3425

D. 5.10 a.m. 18th November, 1947

18th November, 1947. R.12.10 p.m. 18th November, 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem Washington Saving 1.10313

GIANT

My telegrams Nos. 3395 and 3396.

12/11/1

19 NOV

At Saturday afternoon's meeting of Palestine Sub-Committee One U.N.S.C.O.P. recommendation in regard to assets of Palestine Government was considered (E on Page 51 of report).

- United Kingdom representative said that it occurred to him that there would be immovable assets connected with services operated by economic board which might more properly be vested in that board than in the two states. To this Shertok replied that he was not prepared to define Jewish Agency's final attitude in this matter but that he understood U.N.S.C.O.P. intention to have been that economic board should merely operate certain joint services but that assets should be the property of the states in which they were situated. Point was not discussed further further.
- A United States proposal to add the words "allocation shall be made by the United Nations Commission" at end of first sentence was accepted.
- 4. Shertok then proposed that following clause should be added at the end of the U.N.S.C.O.P. recommendation regarding assets in substitution for that which in the morning he had wished to see added to the paragraph regarding financial obligations and concessions

"Pending the appointment of the United Nations Commission the Mandatory shall except in respect of ordinary operating expenditures refrain from any action the effect of which will be in any way to liquidate dispose of or encumber the assets of the Palestine Government including the accumulated treasury surplus the proceeds of Government bond issues state lands etc. and following such appointment shall negotiate with the Commission in regard to proposed action on any of the above matters."

After Lisicky had criticised this amendment as imputing unfair or dishones action to His Majesty's Government Shertok explained that Jewish Agency felt it necessary to include a provision of this kind because

- (1) in the absence of representative institutions in which such matters could be discussed they were in ignorance of the Governments intentions and
 - (2) the Mandatory



- (2) the Mandatory Government had dissociated itself in advance from implementation of any solution which might be recommended by the United Nations and it was necessary to ensure that its action in this matter should be in harmony with the United Nations plan.
- 5. United Kingdom representative said that he felt that some comment was expected from him. He had no information regarding the matters referred to in the reports which by a coincidence had appeared in certain New York newspapers that morning and it would be better not to attempt any detailed comment on them until a complete clarification could be given. In the meantime as regards the Jewish Agency's draft he would only say that his delegation felt themselves in the position of any old family solicitor who was told "you must not embezzle the assets of you wards".
- Chairman said that he was sure the amendment had not been inspired by the recent newspaper reports - indeed the Jewish Agency had told him at least ten days earlier of their intention to introduce such an amendment. Delegate of Venezuela referred to a Reuter's report to the effect that the British Foreign Office had issued a complete denial of the intentions reported in the Herald Tribune and expressed disappointment that the denial of United Kingdom representative had been less categorical. Shertok explained that it was common knowledge that departments in Palestine were under instructions gradually to liquidate some of their assets that this liquidation was being carried out without consulting nor with the knowledge of those who would be responsible for administration in the future that the Agency did not intend to impute any sinister designs to the Mandatory but that the Agency's desire was a perfectly legitimate one to ensure that there should be harmony in this matter between the Palestine administration and the new organs of Government.
- 7. United Kingdom representative stated that he hoped it would be clear to Venezuelan delegate from what the representative of the Jewish Agency had just said that in the absence of knowledge of exactly what action may have been taken perfectly legitimately by the Palestine Government it was impossible for him to give a sweeping denial of the newspaper reports. Venezuelan delegate replied that he hoped the incident could be regarded as closed.
- Jewish Agency's amendment on grounds that since it was intended that United Nations Commission should come into existence as soon as Assembly had approved the plan of partition the restrictions which the amendment sought to impose could not possibly become effective at any earlier time. The Jewish Agency thereupon substituted the following revised wording

"During the period between the appointment of the United Nations Commission and the termination of the Mandate the Mandatory shall except in respect of ordinary operations negotiate with the Commission on any measure

/which it may

which it may contemplate involving the liquidation disposal or encumbering of the assets of the Palestine Government such as the accumulated treasury surplus the proceeds of Government bend issues state lands or any other asset".

- 9. Soviet delegate supported the amendment as re-worded and when it seemed clear that it was about to be adopted the United Kingdom representative said that so as to avoid any possible embarrassment to members in voting on this amendment he wished to make it clear that should the Sub-Committee feel inclined to adopt it his Government would not regard its adoption as implying in any way a reflection on the good faith of the Palestine Government. Shertok replied that the United Kingdom representative's statement was a great relief to him as it enabled the Jewish Agency to press for this amendment and thus discharge its responsibilities to the Jewish people without causing embarrassment to any interested party.
- 10. Chairman insisted that it would be improper to adopt the amendment until members had had further time to consider it formal adoption was therefore left over to next meeting.
- 11. Amendment was formally adopted on 17th November without further comment.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 195.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem.]

ANGLO-AMERICAN TELEGRAPH CO., LD

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FOREIGN OFFICE . DOWNING ST SW

Eastern 10314 9 NOV

61888

THE FOLLOWING WIRE WAS SENT TODAY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OTTAWA THE CONTINUED SILENCE AND APPARENT APPROVAL BY OUR CANADIAN GOVERNMENT OF THE POLICIES AND PERSONAL OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE PIALESTINE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE CREATED CONFUSION AND FEAR

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103 AT 22 GREAT WINCHESTER STREET, LONDON, E.C.2. (TEL. LONDON WALL 1234.) 3/M0429 NLT HON 50= PEARSONS WHOLE MISSION AS CONCILIATOR IN THIS INTERNATIONAL . DISPUTE IS IN FACT BOUND TO FAIL AND WILL PERHAPS ONLY INCREASE THE SUSPICION AND FEAR GROWING AMONG ARAB NATIONS 61888 TOWARDS HIS ACTIVITIES WE WISH TO REPEAT OUR RECENT DESIRE THAT OUR GOVERNMENT WOULD CLEARLY STATE ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THE BRITISH

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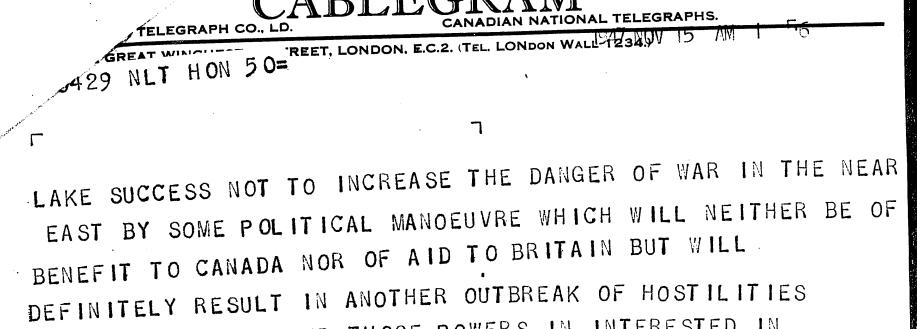
0429 NLT HON 48=

PROPOSAL TO WITHDRAW ALL BRITISH TROOPS BY JANUARY 1 AND TO GIVE THE CITIZEN OF PALESTINE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER OF 1939 I ON BEHALF OF THE CANADIAN ARAB FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE WISH TO APPEAL TO YOU ONCE MORE TO INSTRUCT OUR CANADIAN DELEGATES , AT

1 1939 •

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THE ARABS OF PALESTINE POLICIES WHICH EVERY SELFRESPECTING NATION HAS A RIGHT TO DETERMINE BY THE BALLOT OF ITS OWN F PEOPLE=

M S MASSOUD PRESIDENT CANADIAN ARAB FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE WINDSOR HOTEL MONTREAL.

Please send your Reply "Via WESTERN UNION" You may telephone us for a messenger

32003 F.O.P

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES .

Cypher (O.T.P.)

Tar and out to be considered to the first and the same of the same FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham) AND THE STATE OF T

D. 15th November, 1947,
R. 15th " 15.20 hrs.

No. 2171 Secret,

Addressed to U.K.D.E.L. No. 1572. Repeated to the S. of S. (please pass to U.K.D.E.L.) " Washington No. 261.

1065-8 13659 New York telegrams Nos. 3354, 3355 and 3367 to the Poreign Office.

There appears to be some danger of confusion of thought arising from the use of such terms as "millitary occupation" and "military administration" and I should therefore again make it clear that there will be no military administration. It is not possible nor desirable to relinquish the Mandate piccomeal, and it will be necessary that the Government of Palestine should retain its full authority to govern the whole of Palestine up to the date of its withdrawal, when it will give up its responsibility entirely. It may be that before this date it will prove necessary to withdraw the administration from certain areas on account of their disturbed state. I visualise that in certain areas we could continue Civil Administration even after the withdrawal of military forces from these areas and it would be our object to do so as far as possible with the use of the Police. It will be seen therefore that the cause of withdrawal from a particular area might be either the withdrawal of military follows or deterioration in the security situation in thei area, with the result that the administration and police could not cope with it. Withdrawal from specific areas could not therefore be predicted since it would depend upon the umstances prevailing at the time.

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/21

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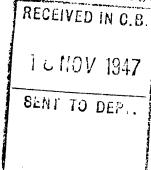
recognise or transfer services to any provisional Government or Council as contemplated in Granados questions, since it would be tantamount to implementing partition. As I have already stated, public services could be transferred to a U.N. Commission only (in the absence of any Jew Arab body which might be created by agreement) or if there is no Commission, local services would be handed over to the existing local authorities to carry on as best they can.

J. As a result of discussion with the C.-in-C M.E.L.F. yesterday, it appears that military forces will be evacuated from all areas except Haifa, Sarafand and the North and North East by the end of May, which is the best date I can give for the withdrawal of administration. I presume that this withdrawal would be coincident with the date on which Mandate would be laid down.

4. I hope that nothing will be said to conflict with the general withdrawal plan as outlined in this telegram

of let May is being considered, that this date, apart from being Labour Day and a Jewish Sabbath, is also the date of the Holy Fire Ceremony and the return of Nebi Musa Banners to Haram, and this day even in normal times is occasion for local disturbances. This might not be known to those who have proposed its

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for transmission to U.K.D.E.L.).



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| 1947 | PALESTINE | 18 NOV |
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| 10827 | Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P. | |

Reference:-

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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3437

R. 8.37 p.m. 18th November 1947

18th November 1947

18th November 1947

Repeated to Jerusalem Washington (Saving)

IMPORTANT GLANT

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19 NOV

1110326

My telegram No. 3371.

When discussion on boundaries was resumed yesterday morning the United States delegate asked the Jewish Agency whether they were prepared to relinquish any area in compensation to the Arabs for the 376,000 dunums which had been added by the sub-Committee to the area of the Jewish State as previously recommended by U.N.S.C.O.P. Shertok replied that Jewish Agency had previously indicated its willingness to accept the proposal put forward by Uruguay for the transfer to the Arab State of the town of Beersheba and some 300,000 dunums of land to the north of it and in deference to the point of view of the United States to reduce the area of the Jewish State by an additional 2,000,000 dunums in the southern Negeb along the Egyptian frontier from Rafah southwards but not extending as far as Agaba.

- 2. At the evening meeting of sub-Committee One, the Soviet delegate requested Johnson to say what the United States had in mind in regard to the Negeb. Johnson replied that in the view of his Government vital Arab political interests were concerned. The southern Negeb was the ancient highway between Egypt and Transjerdan and its allocation to the Jews would "drive a wedge in the Arab League". The Jews on the other hand had no interests in the area other than a desire for access to the Gulf of Aqaba. This reply eveked from Shertek the explanation that the Jews wanted the southern Negeb on three counts.
- (a) the pessibility of mineral wealth as yet unexplored but of which there were good signs.
- (b) The pessibility of agriculture with the aid of scientific development and
- (c) Access to the Gulf which would "open the way to the Indian Ocean and the seas beyond", the importance of which to the Jewish State could not be exaggerated particularly in view of the uncertain position in regard to the use of the Suez Canal by that State.
- 3. After the United Kingdom representative had given a tepegraphical description of "the Beersheba sub-district south

19 NOV

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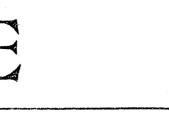
1 2 3 * 5 6 Reference:- 371 61888

of the thirtyfirst degree of latitude" indicating its lack of petentialities for development the Czechoslovak delegate said that he would stick to the U.N.S.C.O.P. proposal in respect of this area and both the Chairman and Soviet delegate expressed the view that there was no reason to make any change in that proposal except insofar as the Jewish Agency might wish to offer concessions. The Soviet delegate suggested that the United States should define their proposal by drawing a line on the map. No final decision was reached.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 197.

to Jerusalem].

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PALESTINE

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It will be noted that shertok has agreed to waive the claim tor an enclave in respect of "New dermalem" for true time being. It would have made a honsense of any separate international 2 one y devisalem Mr. Peins 1VVV. 20 (BEITH)

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

19 NOV

PALESTINE

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Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

ORGANISATION SISTRIBUTION

En Clair

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3426
D. 5. 30 a.m. 19th November, 1947
R. 11. 35 a.m. 18th November, 1.47.

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington Saving

GIANT

My telegram No. 3370.

When discussion of the administration of Jerusalem was resumed in Palestine Sub Committee One on 14th November, Lisicky read out most of chapter IX of Woodhead Commissions report and indicated that he himself was not in favour of a Jewish enclave. Delegates of Uruguay and Venezuela spoke in favour of an international administration covering the old city only. Soviet delegate expressed the view that the trusteeship system was inapplicable in this case and that some special regime would have to be devised.

- Since opinion in the Sub Committee appeared to be divided between U.N.S.C.O.P. scheme and Jewish Agency's proposal, the chairman proposed a compromise whereby the U.N.S.C.O.P. proposals would be adopted for three years and thereafter there would be a referendum. To provide for this he suggested the following addition to the U.N.S.C.O.P. recommendations in part III of chapter VI "at the end of a period of three years beginning on the day of the coming into force of these recommendations, a popular referendum shall be held in the City of Jerusalem so that the population may indicate whether they are satisfied with the political settlement provided for the City of Jerusalem. Should two thirds of the population vote against the present settlement the United Nations shall reconsider the solution in order to divide Jerusalem into a Jewish enclave the Arab town and the old city administered under an international trusteeship by the United Nations".
- 3. After statements by the delegates of Soviet, United States of America and Guatemala in which they carefully avoided comment on the obvious implications of the Chairmans proposal, the United Kingdom representative said that there were two difficulties connected with this proposal to which he felt attention should be drawn (A) the experience of the Mandatory was that there was no question which gave rise to more trouble and racial animosity than that of immigration this was a political question which caused fear of political dominance and if an international body was

FO 371 / 61888

to be

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to be entrusted with the administration of Jerusalem it would be essential that some principle should be determined "for its guidance in this matter"—the U.N.S.C.O.P. report was silent on the subject (B) the U.N.S.C.O.P. proposals while making provision for opting for citizenship of the Jewish or Arab State did not provide any status for residents of Jerusalem who did not desire to opt.

- 4. Lisicky said that the United Kingdom comment touched on questions of primary importance in examination of the problem and that every member should consider them along with the compromise proposal of the Chairman and draw his own conclusions.
- support for the Chairmans proposal and Canada opposed it the United States of America delegate indicated that his delegation had certain suggestions but preferred that they should be discussed first in a working group or with Lisicky before submission to the Sub Committee. It was agreed, therefore, that any suggestions for amendment of the U.N.S.C.O.P. recommendations should be made to Lisicky who would later again report to the Sub Committee.
- Debate was wound up by Shertok who indicated that the Jewish Agency was prepared to accept the Chairman's compromise proposal and to abandon for the time being its claim for a Jewish enclave. In regard to the two difficulties to which reference had been made by the United Kingdom delegate he commented (A) as to immigration into the Jerusalem area that it was not right that the present position should be crystallized that there should be freedom for all Jewish and Arab citizens of Palestine to take up residence in Jerusalem but that there must be some quota restrictions applied to others (B) as to citizenship, that perhaps the best way of filling the gap in the U.N.S.C.O.P. recommendations would be to provide that all Jews and Arabs resident in the City of Jerusalem should automatically become citizens of the Jewish or Arab State unless they opted out of such status in which case they might acquire a special Jerusalem State citizenship.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 196.

[Copies sent to telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

No. 5439.

MN CLAIR.

D. 4.33 p.m. 18th November 1947.

18th November 1947. R. 10.55 p.m. 18th November 1947.

Repeated to: Jerusalem

and Saving to Washington.

IMPORTANT.

GIANT.

VOV &I

My telegram No.3371.

Palestine Sub-Committee of yesterday confirmed their earlier decisions in regard to boundary modifications and adopted a description and map of the revised boundaries. These modifications will effect a reduction of the Arab population in the Jewish State by 78,000. (This figure would increase to 81,700 if the Karton quarter of Jaffa should be included in the Arab State. The Sub-Committee made no definite decision in regard to this quarter.) There would also be effected a transfer of about 1,000 Jews to the Arab State. (4,000 if the Karton quarter is included in that State.)

2. Assuming (1) no change in the UNSCOP proposals in respect of the Beersheba sub-district and (2) that the Karton quarter of Jaffa is placed in the Jewish State, the modified plan of the Sub-Committee will give the following figures of settled population according to official estimates on 51st December 1946

Arab State 800,000 Arabs 10,500 Jews 810,500 Tetal.

Jewish State 325,000 Arabs 498,000 Jews 825,000 Total.

City of Jerusalem 105,000 Arabs 99,500 Jews 204,500 Tetal.

Totals 1,230,000 Arabs 608,000 Jews 1,838,000 Total.

The above figures take into account an admitted over-estimation of the Arab population by 7.600 due to faulty registration of deaths in the years 1943-46.

5. If the revised estimate of the Bedouin population at the end of 1946 is added to the above figures the following result is obtained

 Arab State
 828,000 Arabs
 10,500 Jews
 838,500 Tetal.

 Jewish State
 424,000
 498,000
 922,000

 City of Jerusalem 105,000
 99,500
 204,500

 Total
 1,357,000
 608,000
 1,965,000

/ (N.B.

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- 2 -

(N.B. The UNSCOP boundaries place within the Arab State a number of Beersheba Bendouin estimated at 6,000 out of a total of 92,000).

4. The above figures are our own calculations and not those of the Sub-Committee but the United Nations Secretariat adopted those given in paragraph 1 above for inclusion in the Sub-Committee's paper describing the modifications decided upon. It was necessary for the United Kingdom delegate to explain to the Sub-Committee the source of the figures given in that paper. In doing so he took the opportunity again to draw the attention of the Sub-Committee to the fact that in many cases village lands had been divided. He stated that the boundaries as now modified would place in the Jewish State parts of the lands (in many cases major parts) of no less than 54 Arab villages the built up areas of which were left in the Arab State and whose populations were therefore included in the population total for that State. Time, he said, had not allowed of complete calculations but it was possible to state that the total population of the 17 villages affected in Western Galilee amounted to 32,000. This figure he thought would give sufficient indication of the number of Arabs who might be personally affected by this cutting of village boundaries.

Fereign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 199.

[Copy sent to Cypher Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM WASHING ON TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Lord Inverchapel. D. 3.04 p.m. 18th November, 1947.
No. 6487.

R. 8.37 p.m. 18th November, 1947.

IMPORTANT TOP SECRET 10726/99/98

Your telegram No. 11882.

Balfour took up the point this morning with Henderson, who at once expressed his astonishment that United States representative should have made such an unrealistic suggestion. He undertook to take the necessary action to ensure that it was quashed.

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completed.) Next Paper.

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Draft tel. submitted informing Who uk Delegation, N. York of the action we have taken in washing ton and its results (see £ 10835)

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U.K. Delegation, New York.

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19th November, 1947.

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IMPORTANT.

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GIANT.

Your telegram No.3438 Cof November 18th: Palestine_7.

we have drawn the State Department's attention to Mr. Herschel Johnson's statement about Aqaba, and H.M. Ambassador reports that the latter have undertaken to ensure that the matter great furthers. Suggestion in is

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 4010

D.9.30 p.m. 20th November, 1947.

20th November, 1947.

Repeated to Washington No. 11997

IMPORTANT

SECRET

GIANT

Your telegram No. 3438 [of November 18th: Palestine].

We have drawn the State Department's attention to Mr. Herschel Johnson's statement about Aqaba, and His Majesty's Ambassador reports that the latter have undertaken to ensure that the suggestion is quashed.

E 371 61888

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[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Mingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3438

D. 6.26 p.m. 18th November 1947 R.10.21 p.m. 18th November 1947

18th November 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem

Washington Saving. *

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VON EI

GIANT.

My telegram No. 3437.

Since Johnson's statement of 13th November favouring the allocation of Aqaba to the Jewish State (paragraph 4 of my telegram No. 3371) the United States Delegation has been in somewhat of a quandary in regard to proposals for adjustment in the Negeb. It is pretty evident that they do not now favour inclusion of the southern Negeb in the Jewish State but are extremely reluctant no doubt on local political grounds themselves to put forward any concrete proposals for modification of UNSCOP. They have had several conversations on the subject with the Jewish agency in the hope that the latter will volunteer to relinquish the southern Negeb in compensation for what they have gained elsewhere but have apparently been unable to persuade the agency to make any concession which might have the effect of restricting or threatening the Jewish State line of communication to the Gulf. It is reported that the United States Delegation has also endeavoured without success to get other members of the Sub-Committee to put forward proposals on their behalf and it was with evident reluctance that Johnson when forced into the open by the Soviet Delegate yesterday explained the United States point of view.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 198.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for retransmission to Jerusalem].

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| | | 19 NOV |
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Reference:-FO 371 61888

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3440.

D. 5.15. p.m. 18th November 1947.

18th November 1947.

R. 9.23. p.m. 18th November

Repeated to Jerusalem, Washington, Saving.

1.10045

GIANT

My telegram No. 3439.

Discussions on boundaries have throughout been conducted in Sub-Committee One in an atmosphere very favourable to the Jews, the majority of members showing themselves deliberately blind to all facts inconsistent with Jewish claims. The chairman and Rapporteur in particular have taken little trouble to conceal their partiality and have manipulated procedure so as to facilitate acceptance of the Agency's wishes. The South African and Canadian delegates have not taken any active part in the discussions, the United States representatives have been half-hearted and vacillating in their professed attempt to obtain a fairer partition for the Arabs and only Lisicky has had the temerity resolutely to challenge the Jews. The United Kingdom representative has had constantly to be on guard against attempts by the chairman to associate him with decisions on particular points and has throughout been in the galling position of having to listen to Shertok putting forward most one-sided arguments without being able to do more than to curb him by occasional correction of gross mis-statements of fact. Paradoxically, if it had been politically possible for the United Kingdom representative to counter the Jewish Agency's arguments, he would have been the target for violent attack not so much of the Jews but of Arab delegates who, in order to ensure its rejection, are anxious to see emerge from Sub-Committee One a scheme patently far more unfair to the Arabs of Palestine than that of UNSCOP and who, for this reason, are inclined as it is, to be critical of the efforts made by the United Kingdom representative to place the correct facts before the Sub-Committee. The lenient attitude of the Sub-Committee towards the Jewish Agency which persists despite exposure on more than one occasion of mis-statement and mis-representation of facts, has stimulated their confidence in favourable results and encouraged them to seek more and more concessions.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 200. Copy sent to Cypher Section Colonial Office for

repetition to Jerusalem.]

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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En Clair

120 NOV WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.3447 19th November, 1947. D. 9.33 p.m. 19th November, 1947.

R. 2.50 p.m. 19th November, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington. IMMEDIATE GIANT

Following amendments to text contained in my telegram No.3423 were adopted at last night's meeting of Palestine Sub-Committee One: Section A 2. Add the following paragraph at the end: "The mandatory power shall use its best endeavour to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilties for a substantial immigration shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1st February 1948".

Section B.4. Delete the second paragraph beginning "If the two provisional councils...." and insert the words "with respect to that state" before the words "as the Security Council may deem proper" in the third paragraph.

Section 5. Delete the second paragraph beginning "the monthly rate of 6259....".

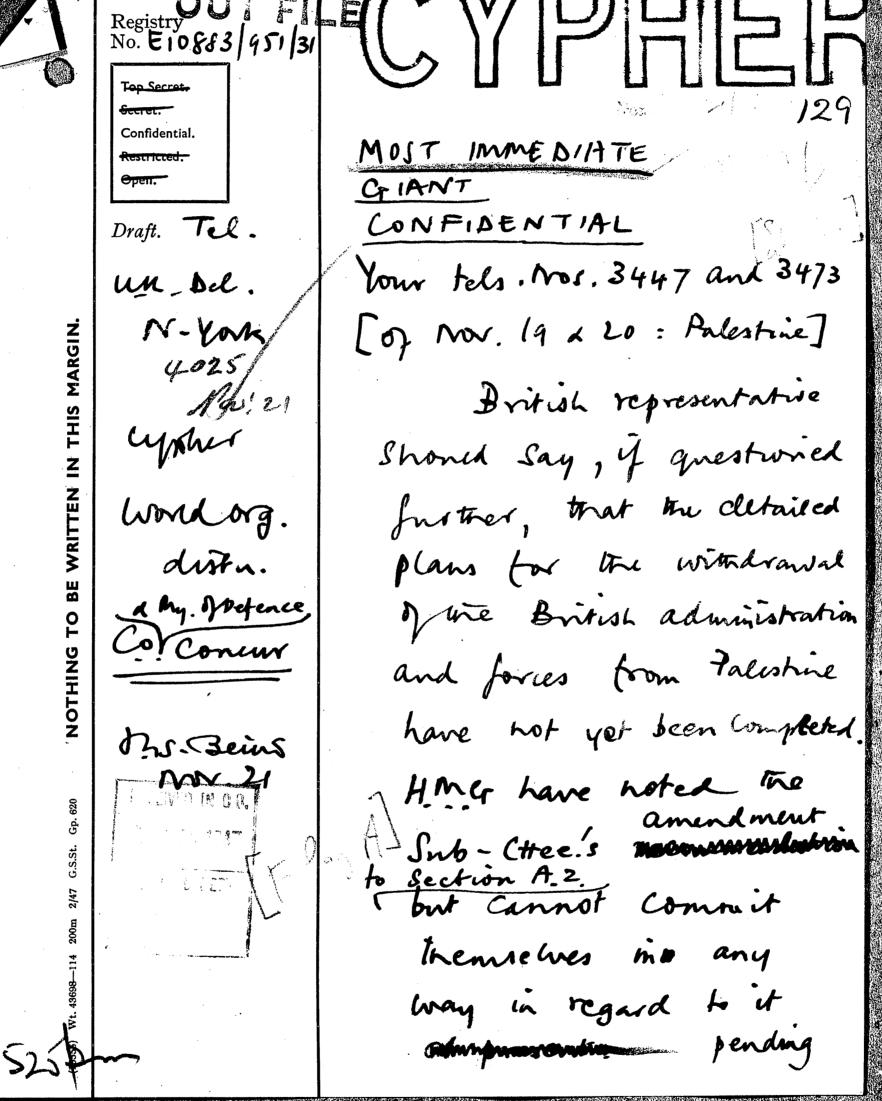
Section 9. Delete the fourth paragraph beginning "Similarly, residents of either state...".

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 205.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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pending the Completion of the withdrawal plan. 69V06Z1.

OUT FILE

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on] E.10883/951/31.

Confidential.

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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 4.025. 21st November, 1947.

D: 6.30 p.m. 21st November, 1947.

MOST IMMEDIATE GIANT

CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegrams Nos. 3447 and 3473 [of November 19th and 20th: Palestine].

British representative should say, if questioned further, that the detailed plans for the withdrawal of the British administration and forces from Palestine have not yet been completed. His Majesty's Government have noted the Sub-Committee's amendment to Section A.2 but cannot commit themselves in any way in regard to it pending the completion of the withdrawal plan.

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| | PALESTINE | 19 NOV |
| Registry E 10884/937/31. Number TELEGRAM FROM (1/4/6) No. 1/(6) fork Dated 3449 Received in Registry 1/9/1/14 | Politics, Kub Cammiltees. Riker 4011 3980 (210776/95 Linguis by the Lattout Ritgels in abili winfilled Lat 16 reguline votes, Su Act 16 reguline votes, Su Actualog. Knun Latture following of | 1/31) Year is no rows witten for Convitation, Les continued a row harris by |
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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3449. D. 12.10 p.m. 19th November, 1947. 19th November, 1947. R. 5.33 p.m. 19th November, 1947.

Repeated to Washington and Jerusalem.

MOST IMMEDIATE. GIANT.

110884

Your telegram No. 3980.

Palestine.

There is no news of progress by the sub-committee for conciliation. The constitutional proposals of Sub-Committee Two are substantially identical with those put forward by the Arab delegations in London last winter. It seems unlikely that they will receive much attention. For most delegations the issue has now been narrowed down to a vote for or against the partition plan emerging from Sub-Committee. for or against the partition plan emerging from Sub-Committee One.

- 2. The Arabs are still confident of securing not less than 16 negative votes. If the figure were 16, they would require 10 abstentions in order to prevent a two-thirds majority. Probable abstainers are Belgium, Luxembourg, France, China, the United Kingdom and Mexico. Greece which is not at present included in the Arab calculation of negative votes, will certainly not vote for partition.
- 3. The issue may thus depend on how many Latin-American States, in addition to Mexico, abstain from participating in the final vote. The Arabs assert that the United States Government are bringing influence to bear through diplomatic channels in the Latin-American capitals. Colour is lent to the Arab suspicion by the fact that some of these delegations have been considering whether the vote could be taken in secret. The rules of procedure do not provide for this.
- 4. Evatt has declared that he intends, by holding three meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee daily, to reach a conclusion by Saturday. It seems doubtful to us whether he can succeed, but we are faced with a determined effort to rush matters to a vote, and consequently we shall have little room for maneeuvre. In these circumstances it seems desirable to make the most explicit possible statement of our position in the Ad Hoc Committee very soon and preferably on Thursday the 20th November.

My immediately following telegram contains the draft of a statement for your approval or amendment.

Fereign Office please pass Most Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 204.

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[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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110385 20 NOV WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

En Clair

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3455.

D. 3.15 p.m. 19th November, 1947.

19th November, 1947.

R. 8.45 p.m. 19th November, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem and Saving Washington.

IMMEDIATE.

GIANT.

Yesterday Palestine Sub-Committee 1 completed its work except on following points in respect of which there had been reservations by United NStates or Soviet Union and which will be discussed again in Sub-Committee this afternoon:-

- (a) the organ of United Nations which is to administer special international régime for the City of Jerusalem. The majority of members had expressed preference for Trusteeship Council but Soviet representative asked for further time to consider the matter;
- (b) reservations of United States on three points in declaration of Economic Union;
- (c) the Negeb.

Foreign Office please pass Jerusalem Immediate as my telegram No. 208.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem].

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Tel) hew York 4011

Rptd.) Washington 11985

20 Nov.

8) 12. Godfrey 18/Defence.
(Private Office).

Nov. 24.

enter 138,

Secretary of State

1 attach advance copies of two tels. from fir A.

Cadogan who propose » to make a trément on Palestiné

to-morrow Nor. 20. The

statement in tel No 3450 is

generally on the right lines,

but parts of paras. 7 and P beg grestions which are still

under discussion detween us and the Chief of Staff on

the tactics of withdrawal, and

we shall have to suggest

modifications of wording.

De must get our answer off by about one o'clock (lunch time) to-morrow,

and as you will not be

available defene then we would

world hope that you would se prepared to give general approval to the draft statement now, suspect to such

change as we may have t suggest in consultation with the Colonial office and Ministry of Sefence to-morrow morning.

fir O. Largent is not available. I have spoken to Mr Wright who agrees with the above.

ON DON THOUS

I attach a draft in which (.O. and brig. Cornwall-Jones (on sehalf of (OS) concur.

Lend

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Cypher/OTP.

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

No. 3450.

D. 1.27 p.m. 19th November 1947.

19th November 1947. R. 7.55 p.m. 19th November 1947.

Repeated to: Jerusalem and Washington.

MOST IMMEDIATE.

GIANT.

TOP SECRET.

10986

20 NOV

My immediately preceding telegram. Following is text.

It is not for me to take part in the Committee's discussion of the merits of the proposals made by Sub-Committee I for the future Government of Palestine. We have hoped that the United Nations may be able to find a solution which we failed to find. What I must do is address myself to the part which is assigned to my Government in carrying out the Sub-Committee's proposals.

- 2. The limits within which my Government are prepared to participate in giving effect to any settlement which fails to win approval of both Arabs and Jews in Palestine were clearly defined by the Colonial Secretary in the statements which he made to this Committee on the 26th September. My Government have not since deviated and cannot deviate from the position which he announced at that early stage in the Committee's discussions, and my task new is simply to apply the general principles contained in the Colonial Secretary's statements to the specific proposals which are new before you. It will be remembered that these principles were (I) that His Majesty's Government could not play a major part in the implementation of a scheme that was not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews; (II) that they would however not wish to impede the implementation of a recommendation approved by the General Assembly.
- 3. Before doing so I should like to submit that the statements made on behalf of my Government on the 26th September introduced a new factor into the problem of applying in Palestine any solution recommended by the General Assembly. They have since

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assumed that the Assembly, in drawing up its proposals, would take full account of the risk of strife in Palestine and of the need to provide means of filling the gap in the process of enforcement left by the decision of the present mandatory power that its troops could not be used as the instrument of the United Nations for this purpose. I hope that that assumption was well-founded, but I feel bound, lest there be any misunderstanding, to make clear the extent to which the rôle assigned to my Government by Sub-Committee I is compatible, and beyond which it is not compatible, with the declared intentions of my Government. It will then be for the Committee to decide to what extent these proposals are successful in meeting the problem of enforcement as it will exist in Palestine during the coming months. I shall deal with the problem in accordance with the chronological order of the steps proposed by the Sub-Committee.

- 4. In part I of their report paragraph A.4, the Sub-Committee have defined the period of transition as the period between the adoption of recommendations by the General Assembly and the establishment of independent Arab and Jewish states. Thus the period of transition may begin in a few days' time. It follows that at the outset my Government will still hold the mandate for Palestine, and will still be responsible for discharging the obligations laid upon them by the mandate. The Sub-Committee nevertheless propose in paragraph B. 2 of part I, that "the administration of Palestine during the transitional period shall be entrusted to the Commission". I am sure there is no need for me to labour the argument that no better way could be found of creating confusion and disorder in Palestine than to establish an authority which would operate concurrently with the existing mandatory administration. Even in a stable political situation confusion of authority is dangerous. In Palestine it would obviously have dangerous consequences. I am therefore instructed to leave the Committee in no doubt that, so long as my Government continue to hold the mandate for Palestine, they must insist upon their undivided control of that country.
- 5. Having said that, I should at once make it no less clear that my Government are disposed to relinquish the mandate at a very early date. In determining this date, they will certainly give proper consideration to such arrangements as may have been made by the United Nations for the establishment of a provisional régime to succeed the mandate. At the same time I am sure the Committee will agree that there is no reasonable basis for the suggestion that my Government must await the approval of the Security Council before exercising their right to lay down a mandate which has proved to be unworkable and of which they desire to divest themselves as rapidly as possible.

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- 6. With reference to the termination of the mandate, it is provided in paragraph B.13 of part I of the report that "there shall be a progressive transfer from the mandatory power to the provisional Councils of Government and the Joint Economic Board respectively, of responsibility for all the functions of Government".
- 7. As I have just said the mandatory power must retain its full authority until the moment at which the mandate is brought to an end. Consequently the transfer of the functions to Government cannot be progressive or piecemeal. The transfer of responsibility for civil administration must be effected in one operation.
- 8. I turn now to the situation which will exist in Palestine at the moment when the mandate is laid down. British civil administration will then cease to operate throughout the country and no British authority will remain except a military authority for limited purposes within certain specified areas of which our troops are still in effective occupation. In the remainder of the country the United Nations Commission will be free to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly. If the Commission should desire to consult the remaining British authorities in Palestine or my Government in London, we shall naturally provide information and, if we are asked for it, advice to the best of our ability.
- 9. The Commission will of course be interested not only in the areas from which British troops have been withdrawn, but also in the zones where they still remain. My Government do not desire to preclude the Commission from operating in military zones. But I am instructed to state that within these limited areas the paramount concern of the British military authorities will be to expedite their own withdrawal from that country. If only for that purpose alone, our forces might have to take action for the maintenance of order, prevention of sabetage etc. and they would not be able to permit activity in the zenes of a nature calculated to provoke disorder and so to delay British withdrawal. They will in no circumstances allow their forces to be used for the attainment of any other purpose. It is our object, one that I think will meet with general approval, to withdraw the last British forces from Palestine as speedily as possible. Here again we see no reason to await the approval of the Security Council, as is suggested in paragraph A part I of the document before us. If the object of this provision is to ensure that there would be no delay in our departure, then I can assure the members of the Sub-Committee that their metive is identical with that of my Government. We shall move as quickly as is practicable. What we fear is the possibility that, if other parties must participate in determining the date of our departure,

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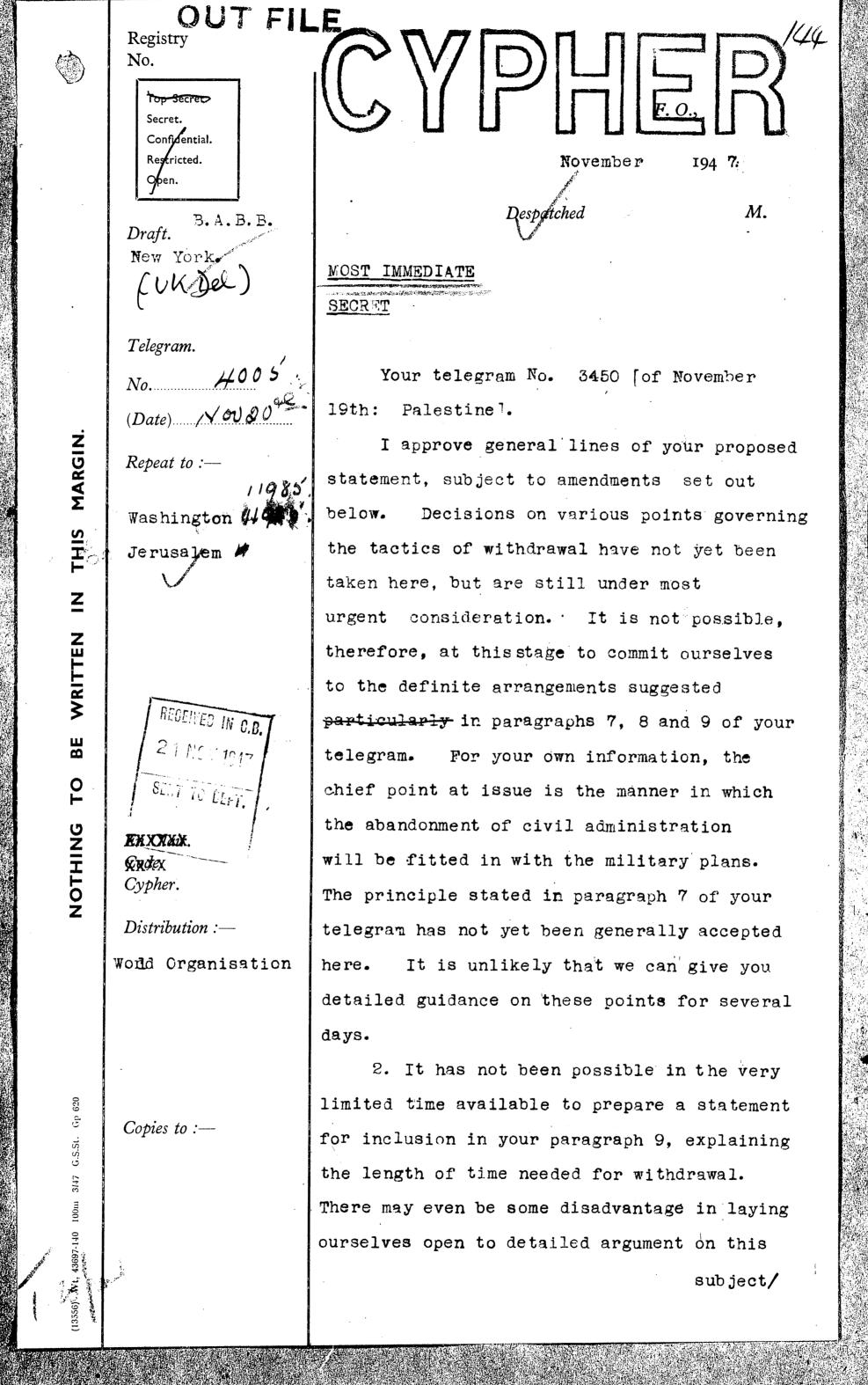
there may be unnecessary delays. (Here might follow a passage explaining the length of time required for withdrawal.) I can however assure the Committee that we shall endeavour to keep the United Nations Commission informed beforehand of our intentions regarding the stages of our withdrawal.

10. To summarise this statement of my Government's intentions, they will in due course announce a date upon which the mandate will be considered at an end. After that date British authority will be limited to the zones still occupied by British troops. In the remainder of the country there will be no regularly constituted authority unless the United Nations can fill the gap. It is for the Committee to recommend in what way this gap can be effectively filled. If that problem is solved there should be no great difficulty in making arrangements consequent upon the subsequent stages of our military retirement from the country.

Foreign Office please pass Most Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 205.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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subject. If you still urgently require some background on this point, please let us know.

- 3. Suggested amendments are as follows:-
- (a) At the beginning of paragraph 5, for are disposed read have every right.
 - (b) Delete paragraph 7 and substitute:

"The transfer of authority by the Palestine Government directly to councils of government or any other local representatives under a scheme of partition would in practice amount to the implementation of this scheme by H.M.G. in the United Kingdom, which, failing Arab-Jewish agreement, they are not prepared to undertake. If a scheme of partition were approved and a United Nations commission set up, as proposed in the subcommittee's report, it would be to this commission that the Palestine Government would, when the time came, hand over its authority. The commission could then transfer authority to whatever local bodies they chose".

(c) Delete paragraph 8 and first three sentences of paragraph 9, and substitute:

"Ifter authority has been handed over to the United Nations commission, there would still be zones in which British troops would remain pending final withdrawal. Within these zones, the paramount concern of the British authorities will be to expedite their own withdrawal from the country. If only for that purpose alone . . ", continuing as in your paragraph 9.

(d) Delete first three sentences of paragraph
10 and substitute:

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"To/

"To summarise this statement of my Government's intentions, they will in due course announce a date upon which the British civil administration will be considered at an end. After that date, apart from those British authorities who will be exercising strictly limited functions in certain areas, there will be no regularly*constituted authority unless the United Nations can fill the gap. It is for the committee to recommend . . . ", continuing as in your paragraph 10.

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1 | 1 | Reference:- FO 371 / 61888

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Secret Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 4005 20th November, 1947. D. 2. 22 p.m. 20th November, 1947.

Repeated to Washington No. 11985 Jerusalem

MOST IMMEDIATE SECRET

Your telegram No. 3450 [of November 19th: Palestine].

- I approve general lines of your proposed statement, subject to amendments set out below. Decisions on various points governing the tactics of withdrawal have not yet been taken here, but are still under most urgent consideration. It is not possible, therefore, at this stage to commit ourselves to the definite arrangements suggested in paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 of your telegram. For your own information, the chief point at issue is the manner in which the abandonment of civil administration will be fitted in with the military plans. The principle stated in paragraph 7 of your telegram has not yet been generally accepted here. It is unlikely that we can give you detailed guidance on these points for several days.
- It has not been possible in the very limited time available to prepare a statement for inclusion in your paragraph 9, explaining the length of time needed for withdrawal. There may even be some disadvantage in laying ourselves open to detailed argument on this subject. If you still urgently require some background on this point, please let us know.
- Suggested amendments are as follows:-
- (a) At the beginning of paragraph 5, for "are disposed" read "have every right".
 - (b) Delete paragraph 7 and substitute:

"The transfer of authority by the Palestine Government directly to councils of government or any other local representatives under a scheme of partition would in practice amount to the implementation of this scheme by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which, failing Arab-Jewish agreement, they are not prepared to

/ undertake.

undertake. If a scheme of partition were approved and a United Nations commission set up, as proposed in the sub-committee's report, it would be to this commission that the Palestine Government would, when the time came, hand over its authority. The commission could then transfer authority to whatever local bodies they chose".

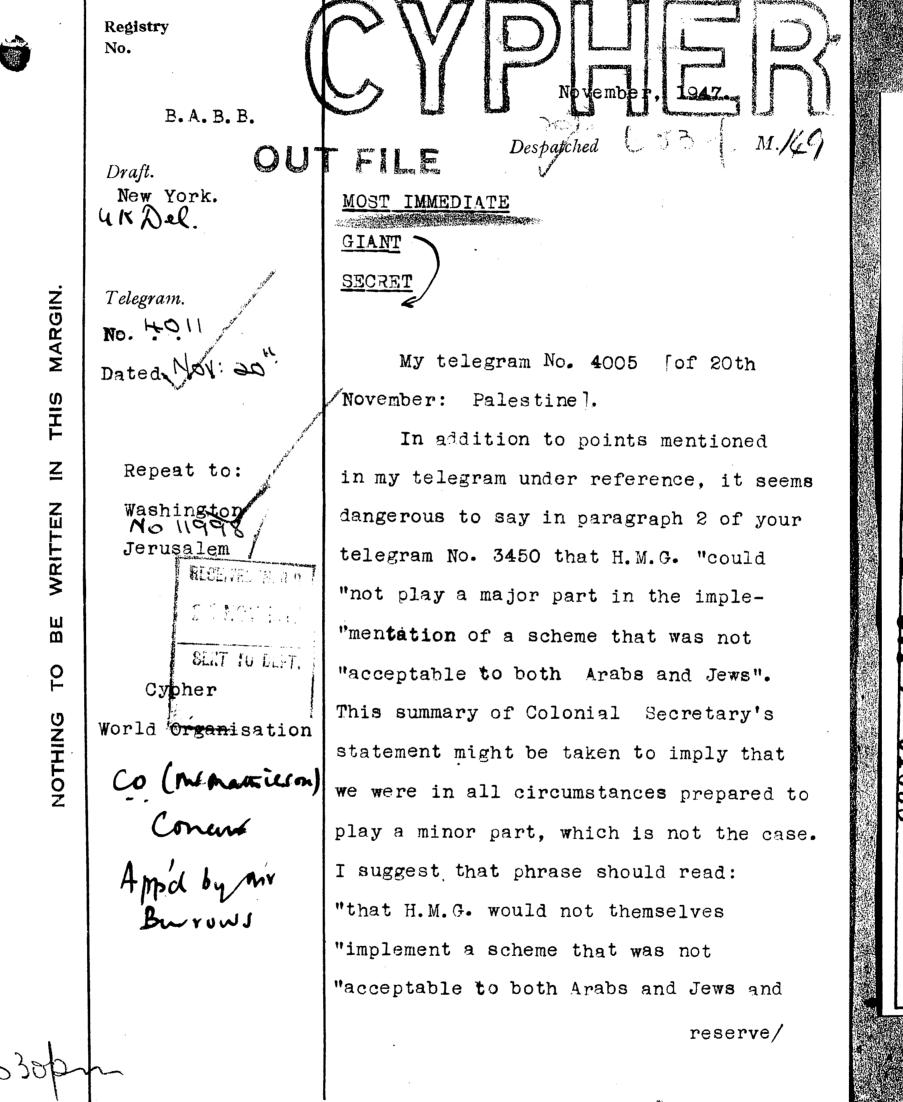
(c) Delete paragraph 8 and first three sentences of paragraph 9, and substitute:

"After authority has been handed over to the United Nations commission, there would still be zones in which British troops would remain pending final withdrawal. Within these zones, the paramount concern of the British authorities will be to expedite their own withdrawal from the country. If only for that purpose alone . . ", continuing as in your paragraph 9.

(d) Delete first three sentences of paragraph 10 and substitute:

"To summarise this statement of my Government's intentions, they will in due course announce a date upon which the British civil administration will be considered at an end. After that date, apart from those British authorities who will be exercising strictly limited functions in certain areas, there will be no regularly constituted authority unless the United Nations can fill the gap. It is for the committee to recommend . . ", continuing as in your paragraph 10.

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150 "reserve the right to decide whether they "should participate with others in ...-"implementing such a scheme". 1 Jo Mar. 20

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 4011

D.6.53p.m. 20th November, 1947.

20th November, 1947.

Repeated to Washington No. 11998 Jerusalem

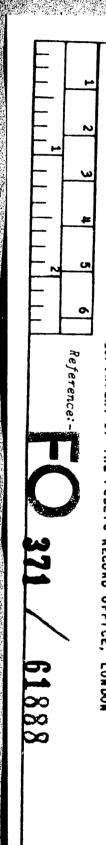
MOST IMMEDIATE

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My telegram No. 4005 [of 20th November: Palestine].

In addition to points mentioned in my telegram under reference, it seems dangerous to say in paragraph 2 of your telegram No. 3450 that His Majesty's Government "could not play a major part in the implementation of a scheme that was not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews". This summary of Colonial Secretary's statement might be taken to imply that we were in all circumstances prepared to play a minor part, which is not the case. I suggest that phrase should read: "that His Majesty's Government would not themselves implement a scheme that was not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews and reserve the right to decide whether they should participate with others in implementing such a scheme".



Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No.3451 19th November, 1947.

D: 2.56 p.m. 19th November, 1947

R: 8.48 p.m. 19th Movember, 1947.

LOST IMMEDIATE.

My telegram No.3450.

Palestine.

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ing from Beckett for Pohents Uno: Color

Following from Beckett for Roberts-Wray Colonial Office.

It would be very helpful if I could have your views on certain legal points. I understand the views of His Majesty's Government to be that at a certain date His Majesty's Government will relinquish the mandate and hand over the administration of Palestine to the United Nations Commission. Thereafter there will be no British Civil Administration in Palestine at all and the Palestine Order in Council, which provides for a civil administration under the mandate, will cease to be operative, except in so far as the United Mations Commission maintain it temporarily. It cannot be the basis of the United Mingdom military authority in occupied zones.

2. Nevertheless there will be cortain areas where we have troops. In these areas as I see it our troops will be in the position of an army of occupation which has a certain definite military rele to fulfil, namely the withdrawal of the forces and their stores. In these areas the G.O.C. will exercise by martial and military law these powers which an army of occupation in foreign territory always has. That is to say the G.O.C. can issue such orders as are necessary to ensure the completion without interference of his military task. His orders will be limited to what is necessary for this purpose but will override any other laws and ordinances. For the purposes of fulfilling his military task the G.O.C. can inter alia issue such orders as he thinks necessary for the preservation of such order and for the maintenance of such communications as are necessary.

F() 371 / 61888

- The United Nations Commission as the Government of Palestine can exercise authority in the areas occupied by our forces to the extent which is not incompatible with the military requirements of the British G.O.C.
- 4. In short the analogy is that of an army in occupation of foreign territory which has a government of its own. It seems to me it may be desirable for us to be able to state reasonably clearly the main legal principles on which we propose to act, and in particular that the principles which we do state should not be such that they can be represented as being self contradictory. I am afraid that we shall appear to be self contradictory unless we make it clear that the basis of our reserved powers in our military areas is that of an army of occupation. The powers of an army of occupation are pretty clastic.
 - 5. Sir A Cadegan has seen this telegram.
 [Cepy sent to Roberts-Wray Colonial Office].

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Registry
No. E 10887 | 951 | 31 Draft. MUST IMMEDIATE CONFIDENTIAL GIANT. Pales hae J Following for Beckett from Sir A. Cadogan, New York. No 4013 Dayse Hov: 20 Roberts-Wray, Colonial Office. On termination of British authority in Palestine we propose to revoke such word org. distr. parts of Order in Council and other legislation as provide for the Government of Palestine and impose duties and confer functions on British authorities, but to BE leave in force those parts which form 5 part of the ordinary law of Palestine. I agree with you that the military force

remaining should be put into the position

territory, but I do not feel certain that

all the powers the army may need will be

exercisable by an army not occupying enemy

territory. It seems to me desirable that

expressly agree that army shall have those

/powers

the United Nations Commission should

of an army of occupation of foreign

powers so far as necessary to effect safe withdrawal and give necessary legislative authority for their exercise. We have considered as an alternative the possibility of conferring the necessary powers on them by legislation before we give up jurisdiction, and we might have to fall back on this, though of course the United Nations Commission could abrogate it unless they had agreed not to. We have in mind an Act of Parliament to deal with various matters and this might if necessary confer indemnity on troops which would, of course, only be effective in British Courts. Ends.

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[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

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WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 4013
D. 7.40 p.m. 20th November, 1947

MOST IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL
GIANT

Your telegram No. 3451 [of 19th November: Palestine].

Following for Beckett from Roberts-Wray, Colonial Office.

[Begins]

On termination of British authority in Palestine we propose to revoke such parts of Order in Council and other legislation as provide for the Government of Palestine and impose duties and confer functions on British authorities, but to leave in force those parts which form part of the ordinary law of Palestine. agree with you that the military force remaining should be put into the position of an army of occupation of fereign territory, but I do not feel certain that all the powers the army may need will be exercisable by an army not occupying enemy territory. It seems to me desirable that the United Nations Commission should expressly agree that army shall have those powers so far as necessary to effect safe withdrawal and give necessary legislative authority for their exercise. We have considered as an alternative the possibility of conferring the necessary powers on them by legislation before we give up jurisdiction, and we might have to fall back on this, though of course the United Nations Commission could abrogate it unless they had agreed not We have in mind an Act of Parliament to deal with various matters and this might if necessary confer indemnity on troops which would, of course, only be effective in British Courts. [Ends].

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1 2 3 4 5 6 Reference:— COPTRIGHT OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Reference:— CO 371 61888